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What's the difference between $110,100 and $27,800?

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An obstetrician in Illinois pays $110,100 a year for malpractice insurance. Next door in Wisconsin, the same doctor would pay $27,800. Why?

There's no good answer, except that the U.S. medical malpractice system is badly broken, and it's threatening the accessibility, affordability and quality of healthcare for millions. Blue Cross and Blue Shield plans cover nearly one in three Americans. Eighty-eight percent of these plans report that the medical malpractice insurance problem increases healthcare costs and decreases access to care – especially for high-risk specialties. Three-quarters of physicians responding to a Harris survey in February said malpractice insurance concerns cause them to order unnecessary tests and make redundant referrals.

Americans know they're picking up the tab for these preventable costs. A separate Harris survey found that 58 percent favor new legislation to limit medical liability and reduce the costs of medical malpractice insurance.

The problem doesn't end there. A new report by the Department of Health and Human Services found that because of the malpractice insurance predicament, "more patients in more states are facing greater difficulty in obtaining access to doctors." Rising rates cause some physicians to refuse high-risk procedures, move their practices to more malpractice-friendly jurisdictions or retire from medicine entirely. Again, Americans know the score. Fifty-nine percent think that malpractice suits and doctors' fear of being sued harm the quality of medical care.

Fortunately, there are steps we can take now to fix this problem before it gets worse. With the leadership of President Bush, Congress has introduced new legislation based on a California law with a quarter-century track record of controlling malpractice costs. BCBSA believes the legislation, which has passed the House and awaits action in the Senate, offers an excellent framework.

Like California and other states that have enacted medical liability reform, the federal legislation would limit "non-economic" damages to $250,000. An analysis by *USA Today* shows that states limiting such awards to $500,000 or less have average malpractice premiums 23 percent lower than states without limits. It is critically important that these protections be extended to all healthcare stakeholders.

As the nation's largest family of healthcare insurance companies, it's clear to us that solving the problem of rising healthcare costs requires a coordinated approach to out-of-control malpractice costs. Most Americans agree.

BCBSA has joined with more than 50 organizations – representing physicians, hospitals, employers, insurers and consumers – in the Health Coalition on Liability and Access. Together we are urging Congress to pass common-sense federal medical liability reforms which protect patients' access to care.

BlueCross BlueShield Association

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For more information, visit our Web site at *www.bcbs.com* and click on 'medical liability reform.'

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MAY 19, 2003 VOL. LV, NO. 9

NATIONAL REVIEW

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■ COVER STORY

An Army of Jessicas

From coast to coast, editorial writers declare that the experiences of American military women in Iraq—including those of Pfc. Jessica Lynch—have defeated once and for all the critics of women in combat. But their commentaries are generally ill informed and dishonest. *By Kate O'Beirne*

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for the record

■ President **Bush**, on NBC: "The Bush Doctrine is actually being defined by action, as opposed to by words." . . . Bush on the Dixie Chicks: "They can say what they want to say. . . . They shouldn't have their feelings hurt just because some people don't want to buy their records when they speak out. You know, freedom is a two-way street." . . . Bush on French president **Jacques Chirac**: "I doubt he'll be coming to the ranch anytime soon." . . . Defense secretary **Donald Rumsfeld**: "A vocal minority clamoring to transform Iraq in Iran's image will not be permitted to do so." . . . Retired Gen. **Wesley Clark** on Bush, on CNN: "He's been decisive, he's taken control, he's not afraid to make tough decisions."

■ Bush on lawmakers who support tax cuts smaller than his own proposal: "If they agree that tax relief creates jobs, then why are they for a little bitty tax-relief package?" . . . Sen. **Lincoln Chafee** (R., R.I.), on CNN: "None of us like to raise taxes. We don't like taxes. But we have to do the responsible thing." . . . GOP pollster **Matthew Dowd**: "President Bush's approval numbers will again fall back to more realistic levels fairly quickly, and in head-to-head polls in the months ahead President Bush will at times likely be behind potential Democrats."

■ In Pew poll, 68 percent can't name any Democrat running for president. . . . Sen. **John Edwards** (D., N.C.) returns campaign contributions from Arkansas law firm following reports that employee donations were reimbursed by bosses. . . . Green Party official **Juscha Robinson** on **Ralph Nader**'s running for president again, in Salon.com: "It looks like he's leaning in that direction." . . . Rep. **Dick Gephardt** (D., Mo.) on debating Bush, to Associated Press: "I can put two sentences together and I know I can pronounce the word 'nuclear.'" . . . Gephardt misses 81 percent of House votes in 2003, according to *Des Moines Register*. . . . Bush adviser on Sen. **John Kerry** (D., Mass.), in *New York Times*: "He looks French."

■ **Stephen Moore** of Club for Growth tries to recruit GOP primary opponents against anti-tax-cut Sen. **George Voinovich** (R., Ohio), but secretary of state **Ken Blackwell** and former Rep. **John Kasich** both decline, reports *Cincinnati Enquirer*. . . . Sen. **Lisa Murkowski** (R., Ark.) complains about Senate facilities, in *National Journal*: "The building itself—I hope you won't think I'm flip—but wearing heels, walking on marble floors for hours, is grueling. You walk into the ladies' room—it's a broom closet. It was an afterthought. I have presided for a couple of hours on the floor this morning. The chair is a huge man's chair. I was sitting on two pillows in order to be high enough." . . . In Democratic poll, 54 percent of Alaskans say nepotism of Murkowski's appointment to Senate by her father, Gov. **Frank Murkowski** (R.), is "convincing reason" to vote against her in 2004. . . . Sen. **Orrin Hatch** (R., Utah), in *Salt Lake Tribune*: "I know people in Hildale [Utah] who are polygamists who are very fine people."

■ In Field Poll, 48 percent support **Ward Connerly**'s Racial Privacy Initiative, and 33 percent oppose it. . . . In *Washington Post*/ABC News poll, 79 percent say North Korea poses threat to U.S. and 65 percent say Syria does. . . . **Charlton Heston** steps down as NRA president.

■ **Craig Kilborn**: "**Rodney King** crashed his car into a house at a hundred miles per hour. His lawyers are going to play the recording backwards to prove that the house hit him first."

"Your problem is that you've got a persecution complex."

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GROWS, WE WANT
TO
MAKE SURE IT'S STILL
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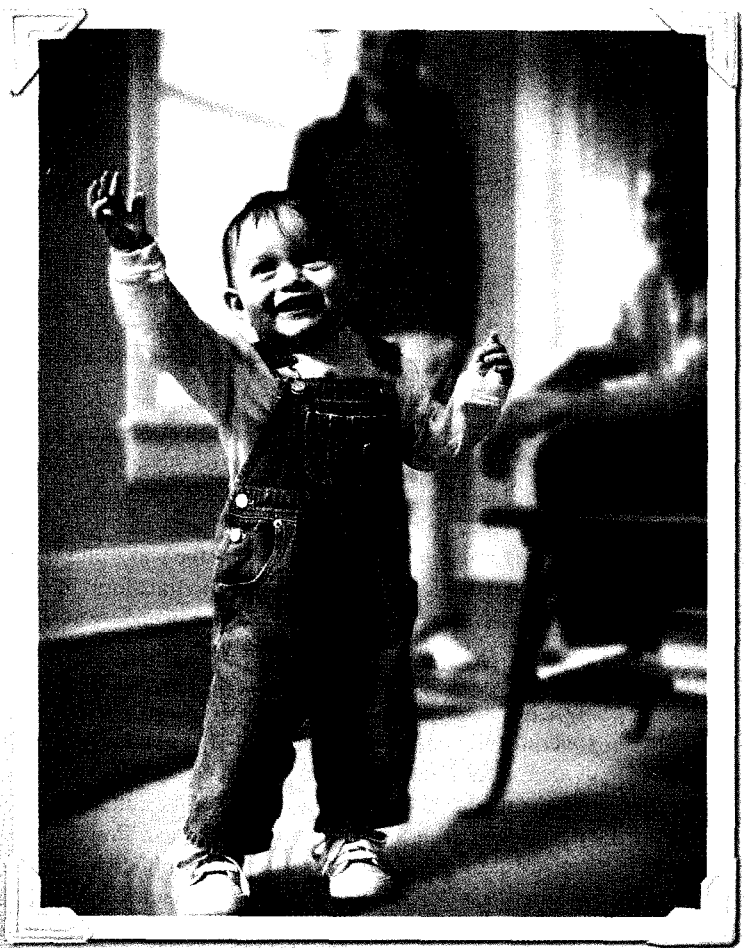

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THE WEEK

■ We think it's safe to assume that a regime with figures called "Chemical Ali" and "Dr. Germ" had WMD.

■ George Galloway, a showy Scottish Labour MP, has been a scourge of Anglo-American Iraq policy, denouncing Tony Blair and George W. Bush as "wolves." Now he stands revealed as a leech. Iraqi files discovered by reporters from the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Christian Science Monitor* show that the fallen regime forked over big bucks to keep its advocate in clover. One document, signed by Saddam's son Qusay, authorizes "a gratuity" of $3 million for Galloway's "courageous and daring stands against the enemies of Iraq" ("Do this fast and inform me," wrote Qusay in his own hand). Another memo, from the secret service to Saddam himself, said Galloway was getting cuts from contracts under the oil-for-food program. Galloway plans to sue for libel, accuses the papers of dealing in disinformation, and says he has "never met, to the best of my knowledge, any member of Iraqi intelligence." Shades of Alger Hiss (who never knew "a man by the name of Whittaker Chambers")?

■ Who else in the antiwar movement got paid off? Who should feel miffed at having done Saddam's work for free? Two points, which pull in opposite directions, need to be kept simultaneously in mind. The feckless and the morally challenged in many cases do not require bribery to do their work. Sincere hatred of one's own country, and a displaced admiration for totalitarian methods, might of themselves make one admire tyrants, while vanity and the desire to cut a figure in the world can encourage one to advise them. But intelligence services have always used such tangibles as money and sex to grease their work. Often men turn their coats for an array of reasons, both high- and low-minded. We should do the antiwar movement the courtesy of assuming that they were honestly immoral, while recognizing that some of them are human enough to have taken gratuities.

■ Files from Iraqi ministries reveal a picture of intrigue and treachery in Baghdad during Saddam Hussein's run-up to disaster. So-called "friends of Iraq" in the French foreign ministry, it turns out, were relaying to their Iraqi counterparts the contents of private meetings with Americans, and passing on diplomatic traffic. Not to be outdone, one Johannes Hoffner, a German intelligence agent in Iraq under diplomatic cover, was wheedling Gen. Taher Jalil Haboosh, director of Iraqi intelligence: "My organization wants to develop its relationship with your organization." If Hoffner could help prevent an American invasion, Haboosh promised, Germany could expect lucrative contracts. The Russian Federal Security Bureau, successor to the KGB, was also briefing Saddam with information drawn from Russian agents and diplomats about how best to frustrate Washington and weapons inspection. Ol' Saddam needed friends like that. We don't.

ROMAN GENN

■ Newt Gingrich gave a speech at the American Enterprise Institute urging the Bush administration "to take on transforming the State Department as its next urgent mission." In the run-up to the Iraq war, he said, the department had failed to make the case for the president's policies; in the war's aftermath, it is failing to work for democracy. Efforts to transform the military and revamp homeland security are already underway—so why not reform State, too? For these remarks, Gingrich was accused of launching a vicious personal attack on Colin Powell, probably at the behest of Donald Rumsfeld. Never mind that Gingrich never mentioned Powell's name and that nobody provided any evidence for Rumsfeld's involvement in the speech. Never mind, also, that Gingrich's indictment of the culture of the State Department is, in the main, amply justified. Powell's deputy, Richard Armitage, responded to the critique by saying that Gingrich was "off his meds and out of therapy." Well, at least we have established that there are occasions when the State Department is prepared to get tough.

■ It is often possible to judge a man by the quality of his enemies. By this standard, Ahmad Chalabi is a very fine man. As leader of the Iraqi National Congress—formerly an "opposition" group, but now one of several political organizations vying for prominence in the new Iraq—he waged a long and lonely struggle to replace Saddam Hussein with a democratic government. This earned him the enmity of the State Depart-

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America's Manufacturing Crisis

The U.S. manufacturing sector is in sharp decline. Over the past five years, for instance, more than 2.5 million good-paying manufacturing jobs have disappeared-most forever.

Equally significant, America now imports more than half of all manufactured goods its consumes, creating a trade deficit in manufactured goods of almost $500 billion per year. The list of these imported goods ranges from small kitchen items to the most advanced technological products-in sum, things vital to the work, life, and security of our nation.

The good news is that U.S. leaders are beginning to recognize the manufacturing crisis. In the private sector, for example, the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) has appointed a blue-ribbon group to study the problem and China's role in it.

In the public sector, the Commerce Department has delegated an Under Secretary to investigate the long-term competitiveness of U.S. manufacturing. And the Defense Advanced Research Projects (DARPA) is studying the capacity of U.S. Manufacturing to produce high-technology goods essential to national defense. On Capitol Hill, House Speaker Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.) has asked Rep. Donald Manzullo (R-Ill.) to hold hearings on U.S. manufacturing decline.

The bad news is that all these efforts are focusing on traditional solutions, such as lowering the value of the dollar, reducing taxes on corporate dividends, and lessening regulation. This is looking for a solution in all the wrong places.

Today, the principal cause of U.S. manufacturing decline is found in U.S. trade policy. This policy actively encourages manufacturing to export their factories and jobs to penny-wage countries, and then export their finished goods back into the U.S. market.

Simply put, most U.S. based manufacturers paying their workers a living wage cannot compete with foreign based producers paying their workers 50 cents an hour—particularly when the foreign factories are modern and the foreign based companies have few regulatory burdens.

Until America adopts trade policies that confront these global differences in wages and regulations, U.S. manufacturing will continue its rapid decline. And any proposed national remedies that ignore existing U.S. trade policies will be a little more than placebos.

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THE WEEK...

ment and the CIA, which would have preferred to have a rival thug dispatch Hussein in a coup. For this offense, he's also in the crosshairs of State's reliable water-carrier in the Senate, Chuck Hagel (R., Neb.), as well as the doyenne of conventional liberalism, *New York Times* columnist Maureen Dowd. She recently called Chalabi a "Richard Perle pal," which she apparently considers an insult. Then she described him as a "convicted embezzler who is back in Iraq trying to ingratiate himself with the country he left 40 years ago." Chalabi was convicted in a secret Jordanian court—have American liberals modified their views on due process? And while it's true that Chalabi's family fled the country in 1958, he has returned many times to northern Iraq to organize resistance against the Ba'ath regime. He did this at great personal risk, because so many of his other enemies over the years have lived in Baghdad.

■ The United Nations oil-for-food program is a cozy racket that can hold its own with Enron. The accounts are secret. But we know some astounding figures. According to U.N. staffers, the program's bank account over the past year has shown balances of over $12 billion. The U.N. siphons off a 2.2 percent commission on every barrel of Iraqi oil released—adding up to more than a billion dollars' extra income to date. The contracts for food and goods just happen to be awarded to companies in countries such as France and Russia, and the French bank BNP Paribas just happens to enjoy a privileged position handling the accounts and letters of credit. Before the war, the program employed 1,000 workers from various nations and 3,000 Iraqis, all of them approved by Saddam. In a memorable quip, Gen. Tommy Franks speaks of an "oil for palaces" program. Not just profiteering but openly conniving in corruption, the U.N. shames us all.

■ When the Army Corps of Engineers awarded a Halliburton subsidiary an emergency contract to extinguish oil-well fires in Iraq—bypassing an open competition that would have taken 45 days—House Democrats called for an investigation into how Vice President Cheney's former firm won the job. It was an entirely predictable attack. Indeed, if the administration had exercised any political influence on contracting it would surely have steered business away from any firms that provided such a hook for the Democrats. Since the damage to the oil fields has turned out to be less severe than anticipated, it's now possible to put contracts for more routine repair work out for competitive bidding. Which is being done. But the critics have moved on to protesting USAID's contract to the Bechtel Group to lead reconstruction efforts. Bechtel has been doing contract work in Iraq since 1950 and is one of the world's largest construction companies. It has 47,000 employees, 1,000 involved in projects in the Persian Gulf and the Middle East. Democrats apparently believe that Iraq should be denied the [illegible]ny's vast experience and resources because one of its [illegible]s is former secretary of state George P. Shultz. We su[illegible]. [illegible]he administration could have spared itself the criticism by tapping French firms, or mom-'n'-pop operations, preferably based in Democratic congressional districts.

■ By all accounts, Operation Iraqi Freedom went well, causing some embarrassment to those whose dire claims proved—once again, as they usually do—untrue. There are two ways for these people to deal with defeat: A few admit they were wrong, but the majority move on blithely in search of the next target to miss. There is a third way, as those who listen to Howard Dean, former Vermont governor and Democratic presidential aspirant, discovered: denial. Wolf Blitzer of CNN asked Dean whether the Iraqi people were "better off" without Saddam Hussein. "We don't know that yet," Dean answered. Incredulous, Blitzer broke in, "You think it's possible—excuse me for interrupting—that whatever emerges in Iraq could be worse than what they had for decades under Saddam Hussein?" Dean: "I do, I do." Can we pay him to keep saying that?

■ Over the next ten years, the federal government is expected to take in $27.9 trillion. President Bush called for a tax cut that would reduce that take by $726 billion (at most). But almost all congressional Democrats, and a few Republicans, consider this 2.5 percent tax cut much too large. Now Bush has scaled his plan down to $550 billion, and they're saying it is still too large. One of the balking Republicans, Sen. George Voinovich of Ohio, says he would be willing to go with Bush if spending cuts were found to "pay for" the tax cut. We disagree with the senator's deficit-obsessed economics. But identifying spending that ought to be eliminated is not difficult. Brian Riedl of the Heritage Foundation has fingered $386 billion in wasteful spending. Just fixing Medicare payment errors would save $121 billion over the next ten years. If Congress cuts spending and taxes this year, Bush, Voinovich, and taxpayers can all win.

■ The markets applauded President Bush's announcement that he would reappoint Alan Greenspan to the Fed, and there was considerable wisdom in that reaction. Greenspan's Fed has succeeded admirably in fighting inflation. But we confess to some misgivings about the Fed chairman's political influence. His pronouncements on fiscal policy are widely heeded, even though they seem to us no more sound—and often considerably less sound—than those of the average Republican in Wash-

BILL FRIST'S TROUBLES

The Senate's not a herpes ward
Nor is the party like
A bunch of nurses taking notes—
And, God knows, Bill ain't Ike.
The moderates act uppity
(Olympia, the most),
So squeeze 'em, Bill, back in that tube,
Or Bush's tax cut's toast.

—W. H. VON DREELE

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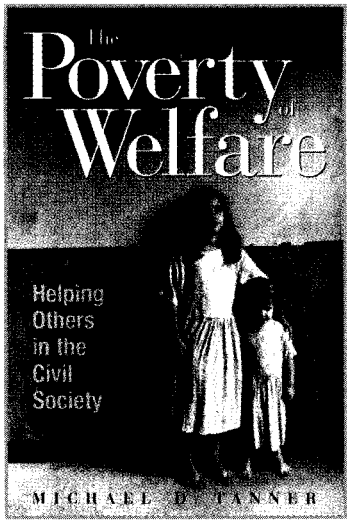
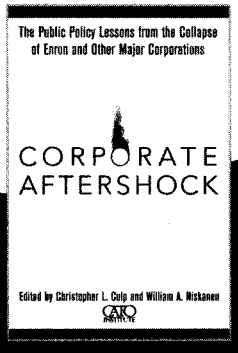


The Poverty of Welfare: Helping Others in the Civil Society

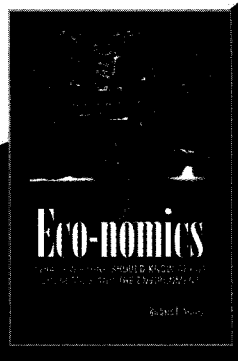
Michael Tanner

The 1996 welfare reform was the most significant change in social welfare policy in nearly 60 years. *The Poverty of Welfare* examines the impact of that reform within the context of welfare's history and concludes that, while welfare reform was a step in the right direction, we have a long way to go to fix a deeply troubled system. Tanner suggests that we should be working toward the total elimination of government welfare programs, substituting a renewed and invigorated program of private charity and economic opportunity. 2003/224 pp./paper $15.00 ISBN 1-930865-41-4

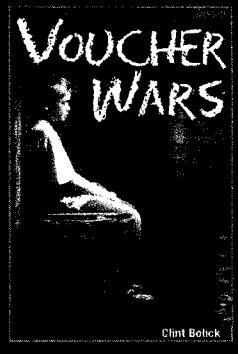
As the Internet becomes a truly global medium, governments across the globe have begun pondering parochial rules for it. *Who Rules the Net?* edited by Adam Thierer and Clyde Wayne Crews Jr., considers the threats to free speech and online commerce posed by government attempting to control cyberspace. 2003/300 pp./cloth $25.00 ISBN 1-930865-43-0


The Public Policy Lessons from the Collapse of Enron and Other Major Corporations
CORPORATE AFTERSHOCK
Edited by Christopher L. Culp and William A. Niskanen

Corporate Aftershock, edited by Christopher L. Culp and William A. Niskanen, is a reasoned, informed response to the numerous proposals to restrict derivatives, stifle structured financing activities, and amend shareholder protection principles and practices following the failure of Enron and other corporations. Published by John Wiley & Sons. 300 pp./cloth $39.95 ISBN 0-471-43002-1



It's one thing to be passionate about protecting the environment. It's another to be successful at it. In this book, Richard L. Stroup explains why many of our environmental laws have failed and how we can do a better job of protecting the environment. *Eco-nomics* is an indispensable guide to learning how to think about both economics and the environment. 100 pp./paper $9.95 ISBN 1-903865-45-7



The recent Supreme Court school voucher decision has brought the issue of educational freedom and quality to national attention. Author Clint Bolick recounts the drama and the tactics of the 12-year battle for choice and, in the process, distills crucial lessons for future educational freedom battles. 2003/224 pp./cloth $20.00 ISBN 1-930865-37-6 paper $12.00 ISBN 10930865-38-4

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THE WEEK...

ington. Even Greenspan's monetary record has been affected, and not for the better, by a certain self-aggrandizement. He has preferred to maintain his freedom of action rather than to adopt a consistent, predictable rule to guide Fed policy. So we had all better hope that Greenspan's judgment continues to be good.

■ A large bipartisan majority in the House has passed a bill that prohibits litigation against gun makers and retailers "for the harm caused by the criminal or unlawful misuse of firearm products . . . when the product functioned as designed." This was made necessary by a spate of lawsuits that aimed to achieve in the courts what gun-control activists have not been able to achieve in the political arena. But the activists will not be the only losers if the Senate passes the legislation: There are also the local governments hoping to tap a short-term revenue stream and the trial lawyers looking to secure fat contingency fees. Congress could name it the Charlton Heston Act of 2003, in honor of the man who recently stepped down as president of the National Rifle Association—and who has done so much to protect the Second Amendment and to promote responsible gun use.

■ Under current law in Iran, unrelated men and women may not touch in public, even to shake hands. A few months ago, we mentioned the sorry tale of fiftysomething Iranian actress Gohar Kheirandish, who was called upon to present a film award to a young male director. Kheirandish's husband had recently passed away, and the director had been one of his students. In recognition of this, Kheirandish planted a motherly kiss on the young man's forehead. The two were promptly arrested and charged with "disturbing public morality." Now we hear that Ms. Kheirandish has been given a suspended sentence of 74 lashes. It is small comfort, but comfort nonetheless, to reflect that ten years ago the sentence would not have been suspended, while twenty years ago the unfortunate lady would very likely have been shot.

"They probably don't even speak French."

Some White House official made the crack that Sen. John Kerry "looks French." This was enough for the senator to say, "It means the White House has started the politics of personal destruction." Okay. But his wife, as usual, took the cake. Anticipating a rough campaign, Teresa Heinz Kerry said, "They [the Republicans] will probably say he's French, he's Jewish . . . he's a monkey. I just find it sad." Huh? Jewish? Monkey? Mrs. Kerry is a live wire, and she could prove a bundle for the Kerry campaign. She is a Martha Mitchell for our time. Before she was through, she sniffed—about administration officials—"They probably don't even speak French." That's the way to appeal to Middle America, Mrs. K.!

■ London's *Sunday Times* called it "the battle of Vaginabad": In March, feminists met with Pakistan's top actresses in Islamabad to mount a covert production of Eve Ensler's notorious *Vagina Monologues*. The event represented a milestone for the play, which has been staged in 48 countries, but never one with as restrictive a regime as Pakistan's. Event organizers hope the performance will spark a movement against the country's "Hudood Ordinance," which requires a raped woman to substantiate her charge with at least two male witnesses. (Should she fail, she is found guilty of adultery, which is punishable by stoning.) "Having these Pakistani women talking about vibrators—that's what it's all about," organizer Hibaaq Osman told the *Globe and Mail*. We're pretty sure that's not what it's *all* about; but if Ensler's show can play even a small part in loosening the death-grip of sharia law, we'll take it.

■ The bodies of Laci Peterson and her unborn son washed up on the shore of San Francisco Bay, and Scott Peterson was charged with two counts of murder. Travesty of justice? That's what Mavra Stark, a New Jersey official of NOW, said: "Was it [the baby] born or was it unborn? If it was unborn, then I can't see charging him with a double murder. . . . It sets a kind of precedent." Stark backed down when pro-life pundits, buoyed by the flood of interest in the Peterson case, assailed her. Yet, as the pundits well know, Stark had a point. Why should the law hunt down the killers of pregnant women and their unborn children, when the same law defends the right of pregnant women to hire doctors to kill their unborn children? If the mother is killed, then it is murder most foul; if the mother is complicit in the killing, then it is the exercise of a constitutional right. The Peterson case sets the precedent (disturbing to abortion supporters) of moral realism, and common sense.

■ Back in the early '80s, liberals learned the word "Hezbollah." So they immediately started referring to conservative Republicans as "Hezbollah." Sam Donaldson, on the Brinkley show, rejoiced in saying "the Hezbollah wing of the Republican party." Twenty years later, they learned the word "Taliban." So liberals immediately said "Taliban Republicans," "Talibanic wing of the Republican party," etc. Now they have learned "fedayeen." And sure enough: *New York Times* columnist Maureen Dowd wrote of "the fedayeen of the Defense Policy Board." She liked that so much, she used it again, in the same column: "Rummy's rabid fedayeen." This is obscene, given what the real fedayeen have done, in Iraq. Of course, it is the "Hezbollah/Taliban/fedayeen Republicans" who have had the guts to stand up to the real Hezbollah, the real Taliban, and the real fedayeen. Yet Dowd and her like persist in calling us by the names of those we have the courage to thwart, and they do not. Strange. A job for the psychologists.

■ The world of New York publishing is buzzing about new

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A Nation at Risk: Twenty Years Later

Diane Ravitch is a research professor, New York University; distinguished visiting fellow, Hoover Institution; and member, Hoover's Koret Task Force on K–12 Education.

Twenty years ago this spring, the National Commission on Excellence in Education served a wake-up call to the nation in the form of a report called *A Nation at Risk,* warning that American education faced a "rising tide of mediocrity" unless actions were taken to raise expectations and achievement. Although the history of American education is littered with reports by distinguished commissions that quickly disappear from public consciousness, *A Nation at Risk* was different. It not only captured national attention, it also set the terms of debate about schooling for a generation after its publication.

The response to the report was truly amazing. Task forces, committees, and study groups were convened across the nation to discuss its implications. Most states raised graduation requirements, increased teachers' salaries, and began to look for ways to measure their schools' effectiveness. With its emphasis on improving student achievement, the report led to other reforms, including national goals set by the president and governors in 1990, the standards movement, increased course taking, and market-based approaches.

A product of its time, ***A Nation at Risk*** **proved to be an antidote to many of the pedagogical fads of the 1960s** such as classrooms without walls, fluffy electives, and watered-down curricula that generated public skepticism. When it became clear in the mid-1970s that SAT scores had been plummeting for nearly a decade, the public was positively alarmed. Hungry for a diagnosis that made sense, it embraced *A Nation at Risk*. Not only was the report written in plain English, but its emphasis on commonsense reforms such as raising expectations, strengthening the curriculum, improving the teaching force, and lengthening the school year clearly struck a chord.

Two decades later, ***A Nation at Risk*** **remains significant in terms of setting the debate and ushering in an era of reform in education, but its goals have not yet been realized.** The changes wrought by twenty years of task forces, committees, and study groups have not produced the hoped-for improvement in student achievement. Few of the commission's recommendations were properly implemented, and many of those that were proved too timid to bring about effective educational reform.

A report from the Koret Task Force on K–12 Education at the Hoover Institution concludes that it is time to go beyond the recommendations of *A Nation at Risk*. Created to study the nation's response to *A Nation at Risk* twenty years later, the Koret report lays out a reinvigorated reform agenda for our schools based on the principles of choice, transparency, and accountability: Choice to bring flexibility and innovation to how education is provided; transparency to reveal information about how the education system is working; and accountability to demonstrate that our children are learning.

The challenge before us today, as in the past, is to secure equal educational opportunity. Every American child should have the same opportunities for an excellent education. The real issue today is whether the schools are good enough to prepare students for the challenges of the twenty-first century. We cannot rest until they are.

— Diane Ravitch

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

Interested in reading more?

Contact us to receive a complimentary copy of chapter one, the **Findings and Recommendations of the Koret Task Force on K–12 Education.**

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THE WEEK...

conservative imprints at two mainstream houses. The Penguin Group announced a "major new imprint," as yet unnamed, for "books of political opinion and dissent with a conservative perspective." Adrian Zackheim, the man in charge of the new unit, edited Newt Gingrich and Margaret Thatcher when he was at HarperCollins. Meanwhile Crown Publishers is inaugurating Crown Forum this June with a new release by Ann Coulter. Established firms have been doing well with conservative books since Random House published Whittaker Chambers's *Witness* half a century ago. But why be content with scattered one-shots? The old guard has evidently concluded that it is the business of publishers to sell books—and that books by conservative authors sell.

■ American "installation artist" Spencer Tunick has produced a masterwork with the title *Be Consumed*. It consists of a London department store full of naked people. Mr. Tunick, described as aiming "to challenge accepted notions of nudity and privacy," was paid an unspecified five-figure sum by the department store, Selfridges of Oxford Street, for the privilege of admitting 600 or so perfectly naked customers. Blathered the artist: "The idea was to bring the body up against commerce and create a tension between them." He added: "I'd have been kicked out if I tried to do this in Macy's or Bloomingdale's in New York." We certainly hope so. Among the things we should like to know: Were participants in this artwork permitted to try on clothes they were thinking of buying? If so, did they have to pull those wee curtains across the doors of the dressing rooms?

■ In an age when one's first task on settling down to work in the morning is to delete umpteen unsolicited e-mails with outrageously salacious subject lines, and in which the wife of New York's mayor proudly announces her intention to take part in a performance of *The Vagina Monologues*, and in which the members of a female pop group respond to suggestions that they are unpatriotic by appearing nude on the cover of a showbiz magazine, one is mildly surprised to be reminded that *Playboy* is still in business. It is rather like reading that the EU has entered into tariff negotiations with the Hanseatic League. Is there really a market for soft porn in a society like ours, in which constant daily effort is required to avoid the other kind? Apparently so: 3.2 million copies of *Playboy* are sold every month. This is less than half the circulation of the glory days around 1970, though, and Hugh Hefner, the magazine's indefatigable founder—he recently celebrated his 77th birthday by going out to dinner with the seven young women he is currently dating—is giving *Playboy* a makeover, bringing in a new editorial director. In the most striking departure from 50 years of tradition, celebrities who pose for *Playboy*'s cover will no longer be required to undress completely. Scoffed Larry Flynt, publisher of the more forthright *Hustler*: "[Hefner] thinks he is publishing *Time* or *Newsweek*. He has never been able to come to grips with the fact that he is a pornographer."

■ *Partisan Review*, at age 66, has ceased publication, its final issue a tribute to William Phillips, who, with Philip Rahv, founded the quarterly during the 1930s. Phillips died last year at 94. The original energy of *Partisan Review* derived from a creative contradiction. It embraced both modernist art and radical socialist anti-Stalinist politics. At first glance, and even second glance, James Joyce and Jackson Pollock hardly seemed compatible with Trotskyism; but the uneasy amalgam appealed to a certain contemporary anti-bourgeois, anti-middlebrow sensibility. *PR* rode this oxymoron through the war years and the 1950s, when it introduced major European writers and modes of thought to a U.S. audience and also published a number of new and outstanding American writers. During the 1960s it gradually began to lose its traction, and more recently it became marginal, of some merit but not bringing much news, and it was time to give way to other publications in the same general cultural area.

AT WAR

Reconstruction

AMERICA takes on the reconstruction of Iraq and the challenges of a postwar world at a happy time, for it is flooded with advice, all of it good. Unfortunately, all of it is also contradictory. We must have an agenda for Iraq's political future, but we must not behave like occupiers. We should not formally end the regime of sanctions until we have scoured the country for weapons of mass destruction, yet we should restore Iraqi prosperity forthwith. We should be wary of a fundamentalist uprising, without imposing our values. Got that?

American efforts in Iraq are proceeding along two tracks. The first might be called geo-forensic: the effort to piece together Saddam Hussein's weapons program, and his contacts with world terrorists. Observers with MTV attention spans have shown dismay over our failure to find the chemical warheads and plague vials, all neatly labeled on shelves, as in a Bond villain's secret lab. A little patience is in order. Hans Blix had several months to look for weapons of mass destruction, and the international community had eleven years before that. In the rubble of a regime that was surely destroying or exporting evidence as the end came, we can take a little time.

Meanwhile, Farouk Hijazi, a former intelligence official captured near the Syrian border, reportedly has evidence of Saddam–al-Qaeda contacts, while the tireless *Daily Telegraph* has found intelligence files detailing the same thing. How could the secularist and the visionary cooperate? The same way the Bolsheviks and the Nazis did.

On the political front, Iraqis held a second U.S.-sponsored conference to discuss a transitional government. Zalmay Khalilzad, fresh from similar midwife duty in Afghanistan, co-chaired the meeting. Retired general Jay Garner, who heads the overall American advisory effort, seems to be an ideal presence—calm, tough, respectful. Iraq will want some form of federal system, like multilingual Switzerland, or the Yankee/Quaker/planter/backwoods United States. Should exiles play a role? No one should be disdained because the

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threat of death forced him to flee. With security, Iraqis can have a decent interval to work these questions out.

How will the world threaten Iraq's security? Syria, the last remaining Ba'athist state, has adopted a meek tone: They coughed up Mr. Hijazi. Iran has not, sending in agitators to stir up Iraqi Shi'ites. We need to patrol the borders, take a firm line, and hope that events in Iran, which is writhing under the ayatollahs' dictatorship, will remove the problem at the source. The French seem—slightly—penitent, moving to suspend U.N. sanctions against its beaten ally. But they do not want the program terminated until U.N. inspectors give the country a thorough look. This is a ruse to maintain U.N., and thus French, leverage. Until the old *chien* learns new *tours*, we should downgrade France everywhere we can, beginning in NATO, by shifting decisions to the French-free Defense Planning Council.

Meanwhile, at home, nothing has changed. Everyone who disliked Donald Rumsfeld still dislikes him; everyone who opposed the war rages at the peace. Yet everything has changed. In spite of naysayers, America moved, and it won. They were as wrong as they are impotent.

HOMOSEXUALITY AND THE LAW

Sex and the Senator

SEN. RICK SANTORUM, a conservative Republican from Pennsylvania, is in the dock for saying—well, how to characterize what he said is a subject of dispute. In an interview with an AP reporter, Santorum implied that he supported state laws banning sodomy. The Supreme Court is expected to strike down such laws this term, but Santorum thought that the laws should stand. He feared that the Court would invalidate them as a violation of the "right to privacy." That right, he claimed, does not actually exist in the Constitution. If the court found that the right to privacy included a right to commit sodomy, he said, "then you have the right to bigamy, you have the right to polygamy, you have the right to incest, you have the right to adultery." All of these things, he said, are "antithetical to strong, healthy families."

Liberals and libertarians vilified Santorum for his alleged intolerance, bigotry, hatefulness, and theocratic leanings. President Bush supported him, if somewhat tepidly and vapidly (Ari Fleischer said that the president considered Santorum "an inclusive man").

The toughest criticisms of Santorum rested on strained interpretations of his words. Santorum was said to be placing homosexuals on the same moral plane as polygamists, practitioners of incest, and (drawing on another portion of the interview) practitioners of bestiality. That is not a fair inference from his remarks. Santorum was making a slippery-slope argument. Such arguments generally take the form of saying that if you accept A, which seems innocuous in itself, you'll wind up with B, which everyone agrees to be dreadful. Santorum's argument, in other words, presupposed that incest could be assumed to be worse than homosexuality. Otherwise his slippery slope would have become a slippery plane, which would have done his argument no good at all.

To say that homosexual conduct, incest, and adultery all undermine the traditional family—i.e., that these practices make it harder for the culture to treat the traditional family as normative—is to state a truism. It is not to say that these things undermine the family to the same degree, or (even if they do) that they are equally objectionable morally.

The fact that Santorum's remarks have been distorted does not, however, establish that they expressed wisdom. We disagree with the senator's apparent support for sodomy laws. He is right in suggesting that state and local governments have a role to play in support of public morals. The laws against prostitution and incest are in place largely because of moral objections. But there are good reasons not to ban homosexual conduct. Seriously to enforce such a law would be brutal; and to leave the law on the books, but rarely and selectively enforced, would be unfair and foster disrespect for law. To ban same-sex sodomy but leave heterosexual conduct unregulated, as Texas does, seems odd if the goal is to promote sexual morality. So Santorum is, in this respect, wrongheaded. Texas should join the majority of states that have repealed their sodomy laws. We cannot, however, bring ourselves to condemn Santorum as some kind of un-American clerical fascist for supporting what was, after all, the status quo until the day before yesterday.

Santorum's slippery-slope argument, meanwhile, seems stronger as a matter of logic than of legal prediction. Recognition of a constitutional right to consensual sexual activity would seem logically to preclude laws against incest; but the Supreme Court has squared bigger circles before.

The immediate issue before the Court is whether it should strike down the Texas law, and it should be considered in isolation. Most opponents of the law seem to think that it is so foolish and oppressive that it must be unconstitutional. But they have not been able to pick one constitutional provision on which to hang their hat, which is itself suggestive.

One theory is that the law should be nullified as a violation of the "right to privacy" that the Court announced in its abortion and contraception cases. The right to privacy is not entirely a judicial invention. The Constitution really does protect privacy in certain respects: forbidding the quartering of soldiers in the home, restricting police searches, etc. But the Court's expansive "privacy right" goes well beyond the constitutional text. The Americans who ratified the Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth Amendment did not understand themselves to be encoding a right to contraception, abortion, or sodomy, or even to be encoding a principle from which those rights could be judicially derived. The late justice Byron White has been condemned by law professors and journalists for writing, in a 1986 case similar to today's, that the claim of a historical grounding for a constitutional right to sodomy was "at best, facetious." But he was right.

The Court's privacy-rights jurisprudence, bad as it is, has never extended so far as to eliminate state governments' power to discourage and even prohibit immoral sexual conduct. The strongest precedent that opponents of the sodomy law can cite is *Eisenstadt* v. *Baird* (1972), which struck down bans on the sale of contraceptives to unmarried people. But even that decision expressly declares that non-marital sexual acts are "evils" that states have a "full measure of discretion in fashioning

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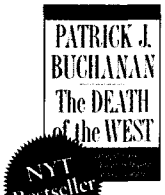

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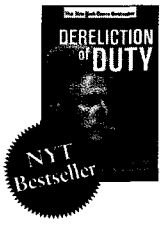

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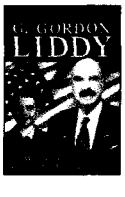

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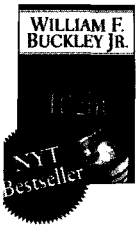

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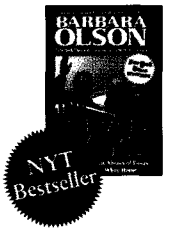

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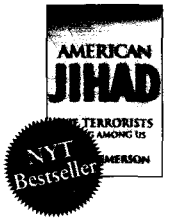

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means to prevent." If the Court will not undo the constitutional damage it has done in the privacy cases, as we think it should, let it at least not compound that damage.

The second leading theory is that the law violates the Equal Protection Clause by discriminating against homosexuals. This theory does not raise the slippery-slope concerns that exercise Santorum. And, as we suggested above, the selectivity of Texas's law is a strong argument against it. But to discriminate among acts is not, formally, to discriminate among persons; otherwise any legal prohibition could be said to discriminate against those people inclined to perform the prohibited act.

Under the Supreme Court's equal-protection jurisprudence, Texas must show to the Court's satisfaction that there is a "rational basis" to its distinction between illegal same-sex sodomy and legal opposite-sex sodomy. It is hard to see how Texas can do this. But the "rational basis" test is itself an extra-constitutional judicial invention, a license for judges to second-guess the judgments of legislatures about which laws are and are not rational. If the Court rules against the law on the equal-protection basis, however, it would at least not raise the slippery-slope concerns that exercise Sen. Santorum.

The state legislature of Texas should repeal its law. But the question before the Supreme Court is not whether Texas *should* retain its law, but whether it *may* do so—or, better, whether the Court is authorized to nullify it. There is every reason to expect that such laws will continue to be repealed. If the Court forces the issue, its main effect will be to give gay-rights activists a symbolic victory. Taking sides in the culture wars is not a good enough reason for the Court to exceed its authority.

notes & asides

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: As a professional engineer, I am stereotypically recognized as unqualified to address matters of grammar. However, Dr. Neely's March 10 letter has touched upon one of my perpetual questions.

Why should closing punctuation for any non-dialogue sentence ever appear inside quotation marks? The punctuation is part of the overall sentence structure, not part of the phrase within quotations. What could be more logical?

I revere clarity, consistency, and stability in language. These seem to be best served by logic. Of course, Fowler does recognize the "conventional" and "logical" uses, with the "conventional system more favored by editors' and publishers' rules." Perhaps my engineering sensibilities lead me to be one of Fowler's "plain men" who do not see the merit of "conventional" usage when it flouts common sense.

Will Chairman Bill take up our banner for the cause of logic and clarity?

Your obedient reader,
Edward S. Thomas
Durham, N.C.

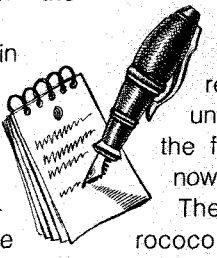
Dear Mr. Thomas: I've got too many banners hoisted, thanks very much, to welcome the weight of one more. All I can do is to agree with you absolutely on the logical point, and then submit to modern convention.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Not much escapes your notice, so I take for granted that you, too, have noted the virtual elimination from the language of the gracious old "you're welcome" in response to any expression of thanks.

It has been years since I have heard anyone in public life reply with other than one of the following three responses: 1) "Thank *you*" (most common); 2) "No problem" (most annoying); 3) "It's been my pleasure" (acceptable).

Time was, every child was taught to say "thank you" and "you're welcome" as appropriate. Each had its unique purpose and meaning in the exchange.



This fairly basic alteration in the custom of language is especially off-putting in its most frequent setting: news broadcasts with clips from stringers or news analysis programs with visiting experts. The guest says "thank you" with the accent on *you.* One is left with the impression that he is overwhelmed with gratitude for having been invited to speak rather than confident in the fitness of his having been asked or the quality of his contribution.

I understand that *danke* serves both functions in German, and *aloha* means both "hello" and "goodbye" in Hawaiian, but English is a fuller language, providing every shade of meaning in its rich vocabulary, as no one knows better than you.

Though it has suffered countless dubious *additions* over the years, one resents the arbitrary deletion of time-honored grace notes.

Sincerely yours,
Helen Wildermuth
East Lyme, Conn.

Dear Mrs. Wildermuth: But such changes are not arbitrary, they are evolutionary and idiomatic. That doesn't make them desirable, or euphonious, or morphologically defensible.

The French *Je vous en prie* sounds rather servile, but also sounds just plain nice, no-sweatwise.

The Spanish *Por nada*—"For nothing"—you'd object to on the same grounds that you reject "Thank *you*" as self-underestimation, but it serves the formal requirement of acknowledging the host's thank you. The Spanish have the more rococo *A sus órdenes*—"At your command"—which, subject to such scrutiny as yours, would once again be rejected as servile, even oleaginous.

Also in wide use after the thank-you's of television hosts are: "My pleasure" and "Any time."

The point, surely, is that a civil acknowledgement is made; less, its composition.

Cordially,

—WFB

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WILLIAM A. RUSHER
Former Publisher of NR
San Francisco, Calif.

David Frum's article "Unpatriotic Conservatives" (April 7) will serve the important purpose of compelling conservatives to consider more carefully just what their movement stands for, and who is entitled to claim membership in it.

In effectively reading the self-described "paleoconservatives" out of the conservative movement, Frum is simply formalizing a break they themselves have long since proclaimed. In the words of one of their leading spokesmen, Samuel Francis, "As for the movement, they can have my share of it, along with that of most other paleos—we now have our own movement." It's not much of a loss—the publication *Chronicles*, which Francis rightly calls "the main paleo magazine," boasts a paid circulation of 6,169.

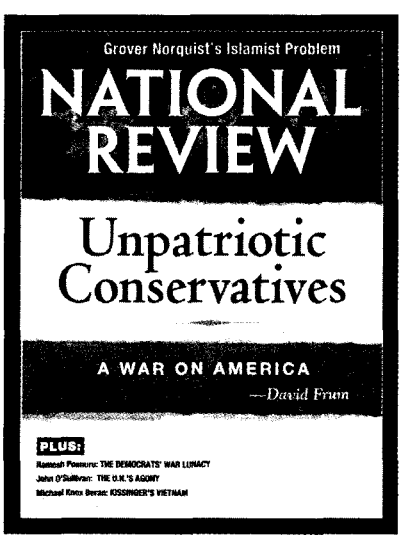
Pat Buchanan is a somewhat more complicated problem. He still calls himself simply a "conservative" (indeed, he recently launched and now edits a magazine called, no less, *The American Conservative*), but in recent years he has steadily marginalized himself by opposing free trade and espousing a sort of neo-isolationism. In 2000, running for president against George W. Bush, Buchanan won just four-tenths of 1 percent of the popular vote. Yet, incredibly, the March 10 issue of his magazine contains a passionate call for an alliance of conservatives and, believe it or not, the whole anti-war Left, against Mr. Bush's policy in Iraq. (Call it "the Vidal-Buchanan-Baez axis.")

Robert Novak's differences with the administration, and with most conservatives, center on Middle Eastern policy. There is nothing wrong with that, but it is grossly unfair of Novak to pose as a perfectly standard conservative and then mystify the people who trust him by bashing George W. Bush. Let's have a little more truth in advertising.

One minor cavil: I think the adjective "unpatriotic," in the title of Frum's article, was unfortunate. These people are not unpatriotic. It is true, as Frum says, that "They began by hating the neoconservatives. They came to hate their party and this president." But they do not hate America. They are simply, desperately, wrong.

CHARLES R. KESLER
Professor of Government
Claremont McKenna College
Claremont, Calif.

David Frum's essay is a welcome indictment of the unpatriotic tendencies of paleoconservatism, made all the more powerful by his willingness to let the paleos speak for themselves. Conservative self-criticism is as important today as it was 40 years ago, when NR led the way in isolating and discrediting the John Birch Society.



To be sure, not every paleoconservative dwells in the fever swamps. But the more sensible among them don't restrain or upbraid the others, thus in effect inciting them. The entirely predictable storm of indignation that will greet this doughty essay would at least be more plausible if Patrick Buchanan or someone like him first noticed the beam in his own movement's eye.

If I have a criticism, it's that Frum rests his indictment a little too easily on the paleocons' *ressentiment* (pardon my French). Though acknowledging that issues of principle lurk in the background, he traces the emergence of self-conscious paleoconservatism to the squabble over places in the early Reagan administration. This treats the efficient but not the final causes of the dispute, however, and neglects two important considerations that Frum may well want to pursue later. First, the essay doesn't treat seriously what deserves to be taken seriously in the paleocons' argument, namely, their claim to represent the principles of the old, the genuine American republic, and not the improvident notions of the bastard American empire that has grown up since—pick one—1989, 1973, 1964, 1954, 1932, 1917, 1860, 1787, or even 1776. Their arguments have roots that go deep in American history, that draw particularly on the political thought, literature, and social science of the antebellum South. Their contentions are, for the most part, wrong now and they were wrong then, but that doesn't make them insignificant.

Second, by focusing so much on the paleocons' own view of the conflict as one pitting them against the neoconservatives, the essay obscures another factor that is vital for conservatism as a whole. There is much common ground between the paleos and neos, whether for good or ill. Both sides boast of their distrust of rationalism, place greater social and moral faith in religion (though perhaps in different religions) than in reason, give at most two cheers for capitalism, and doubt seriously whether American principles of equality and liberty, derived from mere natural rights, can long sustain a decent republic. The neocons may be embarrassed by this common ground, and in recent years have in fact downplayed and even abjured some of it. But American conservatism as a whole remains unsure of its American roots, and so the paleocons' challenge deserves to be confronted on the level of principle, for the sake of our country and of the truth.

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DAVID KEENE

Chairman, American Conservative Union
Alexandria, Va.

David Frum paints with far too broad a brush in his recent attack on any and all conservatives who don't share his enthusiasms. In his view there seem to be two kinds of conservatives: patriotic "neos" and traitorous anti-Semitic "paleos."

The world is, of course, a bit more complicated, and so is the movement he wishes to police. There are people out there with whom we might not want to be associated, but there are far fewer than Frum would have us believe. I have already publicly expressed my outrage at the way he managed to lump Bob Novak in with the likes of Sam Francis and folks I'd never even heard of until I read his piece.

If the ranks of his "neos" are made up largely of liberals who have moved right, Bob Novak would qualify as a charter member of the club. When I first got to know the man, he was an admirer of people like Nelson Rockefeller and Henry Jackson rather than Barry Goldwater or Bob Taft. He, like the "neos" to come, was motivated mainly by his antipathy to the Soviet empire and all it represented. He hadn't even met Jack Kemp back then, and his concerns for tax cuts had yet to surface.

Frum believes that the founders of the movement and your magazine came together to "goad the governments of the West to wage the Cold War more energetically and skillfully." Conservatives of my generation were interested in far more than simply defeating Communism abroad. Frum should skim a few back issues of NR and perhaps top off the experience by paging through William F. Buckley Jr.'s *Up from Liberalism* and Goldwater's *Conscience of a Conservative*, and reading the "Sharon Statement."

The conservatism that emerged from all this was named by Frank Meyer who, while running the book-review section of NR, was the undisputed conscience of the movement. Frank called this consensus conservatism "fusionism," and that remains as good a name as any. He spent much of his time bringing in as many different people as possible and, like his fellows at the magazine, banished only a few to the outer darkness.

Frum seems to see himself as the conscience of a new conservatism, but unlike Meyer, he seeks a far more exclusive club. I wonder whether conservatives like me would qualify for membership. I, like most conservatives, support the war in Iraq, but I don't much like the idea of "nation-building" or submitting questions that ought to be decided on the basis of our national interests to the United Nations or any other international body, and I am as opposed as the most ardent "paleo" to the idea of Uncle Sam on a white charger roaming the world in a mindless quest to right every wrong.

What's more, I believe in free trade, but not in strategically vital materials, and can see both sides of the immigration question. I have serious reservations about the building of a government security apparatus that could threaten our freedoms at home, but consider John Ashcroft a friend and have been declared an "enemy of Islam" by various Islamist websites. What does all this make me? A "paleo"? A "neo"? Or a "fusionist" conservative?

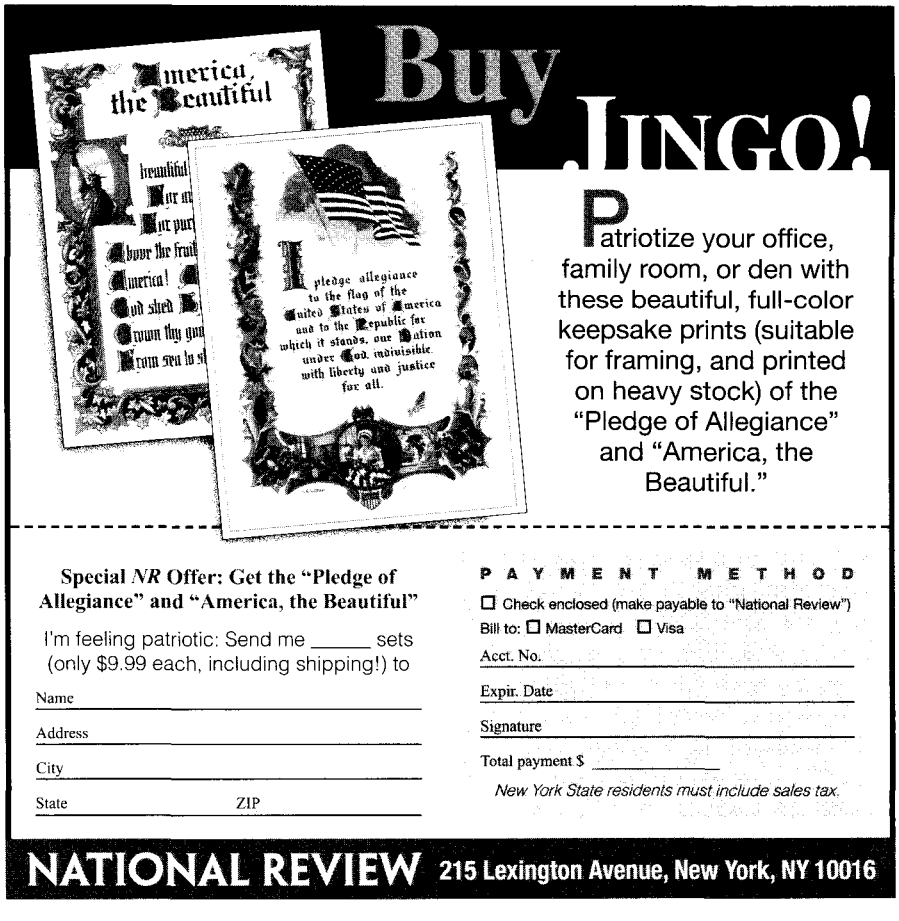
Whatever it makes me, I hope I'm part of a movement that welcomes many of the people whom Frum would exclude from his club.

JACK KEMP

Co-Director, Empower America
Washington, D.C.

I was really disappointed that NATIONAL REVIEW, my all-time favorite magazine, would allow Bob Novak to be defamed the way it did by printing David Frum's ad hominem attack on him. There are many things Bob Novak is, but unpatriotic is not one of them.

The American conservative movement has a long tradition of scrappy, hard-nosed debate among ourselves, but we have always tried to maintain a certain respectfulness toward one another's views. I have read many vigorous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debates in the pages of NR, but never have I seen the kind of personal invective or so many ad hominem attacks as were present in Frum's rant against Bob.

Conservatives owe Bill Buckley a tremendous amount of gratitude for all he has done for the conservative movement, and it's unfortunate that David Frum had to attack one of the gutsiest journalists in our country.

DANIEL OLIVER
Former Chairman, Federal Trade Commission
Washington, D.C.

David Frum asks, "Who was the first paleo to blame Israel for 9/11? It's a close call, but Robert Novak seems to have won the race. His column of September 13, 2001, written the very day after the terrorist attack, charged that 'the hatred toward the United States today by the terrorists is an extension of [their] hatred of Israel.' Novak lamented that, because of terror, 'the United States and Israel are brought ever closer in a way that cannot improve long-term U. S. policy objectives.'"

To say that the terrorists' hatred of America was intensified by their hatred of Israel does not establish that Novak deemed Israel responsible for 9/11. That is inaccurate, absurd, and offensive.

MYRON MAGNET
Editor, City Journal
New York, N.Y.

Now that Baghdad has fallen, now that the jubilation of Iraqi citizens testifies eloquently how truly the war in Iraq has been a war of liberation, and now that terror-sponsoring despots across the globe are doubtless reassessing their strategy after this demonstration of America's awesome military might and political determination, surely those who dismissed the war as incongruent with U.S. interests have been proven thunderously wrong.

The auspicious geopolitical result of our military success makes the charge that only the divided loyalties of neoconservatives in the administration brought about the invasion look all the shabbier—and all the more like the querulous anti-Semitism that David Frum calls it in his blisteringly clear-sighted "Unpatriotic Conservatives."

PETE DU PONT
Former Governor of Delaware and Presidential Candidate
Columnist, OpinionJournal.com
Policy Chairman, National Center for Policy Analysis
Washington, D.C.

David Frum's piece was both educational and something of a surprise. For what Frum outlines as the foreign policy of what used to be the Buchanan wing of the conservative coalition is strange indeed.

From passionately supporting Serbian terrorism to opposing America's successful effort to free the Afghan people; from opposing the liberation of Kuwait in the 1991 Gulf War to excusing the terrorists of 9/11 as a response to Americans' "meddling in an area of the world where we do not belong," the Buchananites have both chosen strange allies and set out a broadly isolationist, see-no-evil foreign policy that would undermine the core values of Western civilization.

The Buchanan policy also reflects a misunderstanding of Muslim terrorists' radical attitude toward the United States and Western civilization. The leadership of Middle Eastern terrorist-supporting nations—Iran, Iraq (under Saddam), and Syria—hates America because their own societies have failed where democratic capitalist nations have succeeded.

As author and columnist Ralph Peters has written, radical Arab societies have failed for several reasons: religious extremism; the subjugation of the female half of the population; restrictions on the free flow of information; the low value placed on education; and the low prestige assigned to work. To which I would add state socialism as opposed to market economies. So in their rage, they strike back at America and other nations that have done so much better than they have.

Neo, paleo, call it what you like: Buchananism is just a bad idea. As Frum concluded, "war is a great clarifier," and his article has helped us clarify the dangerous policies the Buchanan fringe advocates regarding America's war on terrorism, the global issue likely to dominate a decade or more of U.S. foreign policy.

ARNOLD STEINBERG
Political Consultant, Political Theoretician for Young Americans for Freedom, Former Editor of YAF's New Guard, Press Chief for Sen. James L. Buckley

David Frum inquires into the soul of the conservative movement. If Patrick Buchanan is unpatriotic, he is not a conservative. Yet Buchanan sees himself as quintessentially pro-American. How could this be?

Buchanan's groupies include yesterday's anti-anti-Communists. This is not guilt by association, but by evolution. The late Karl Hess, Barry Goldwater's libertarian speechwriter, turned anarchist. On Communism, Goldwater opposed containment and asked (in a book title), "Why Not Victory?" Hess later repudiated conservative foreign policy as empire building. Is there any doubt where Goldwater would be today?

The Hess legacy lives with the anarcho-ideologue Lew Rockwell. Buchanan is preoccupied with accommodating misunderstood Islamists. Rockwell himself argues over public sidewalks, in the generational shadow of the Berlin Wall. Ronald Reagan tore it down. Is there any doubt where Reagan would be today?

Reagan two decades ago denounced the Soviet "evil empire." But Buchanan's present-day Internet cheerleaders then faulted Reagan's defense buildup as itself imperial. Nixon-Reagan speechwriter Buchanan has yet formally to disown Nixon or Reagan. Buchanan, it seems, likes to have his cake and eat it too. He still invokes Reagan's name. Meanwhile, he criticizes President George W. Bush for, you guessed it, empire building.

Buchanan is a generic. Against Richard Nixon, George Wallace was the third-party candidate; against George W. Bush, it was Pat Buchanan. Each potential spoiler gave voice to real and legitimate concerns. But they pandered. Wallace hooked up with racists who treated blacks as second-class citizens.

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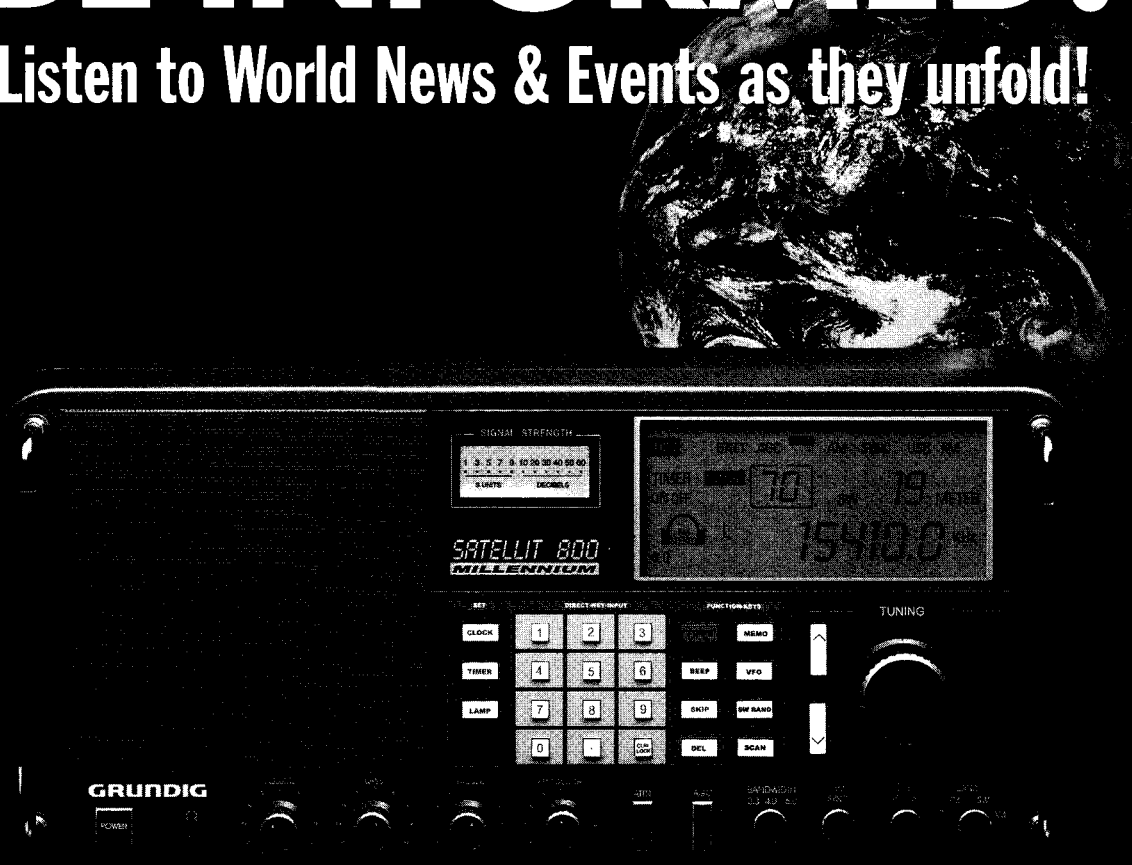

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Ironically, Buchanan hooked up with Lenora Fulani, a black Marxist-Leninist. Buchanan calls his magazine *The American Conservative*, but it is arguably neither. Its mean-spirited nativism is rooted . . . where? In the prejudice and bigotry of the trade unions and the populist Left.

The Gulf War, the war in Afghanistan, and the Iraq war are not your fathers' wars. Then, many conservatives plausibly opposed the self-defeating gradualism of Vietnam—we learned that liberals cannot prosecute a war. But George W. Bush is our guy, and this war is necessary and just. Dare we expect Bob Novak not to behave like a liberal?

NR remains a beacon. A generation ago, Frank Meyer wrote about ordered liberty. YAF's Sharon Statement urged that "free citizens concertedly defend their rights against all enemies." Its view of the "just interests of the United States" was expansive.

ROGER KIMBALL
Managing Editor, The New Criterion
New York, N.Y.

David Frum's piece is a bracing contribution to the library of conservative polemic. It is an indictment, an ideological call to arms, and a political manifesto all at once.

Like Mr. Frum, I am a staunch supporter of the war to liberate Iraq and disarm terrorists. Like him, too, I am disturbed by the current of anti-Semitism that fuels, or at least appears to fuel, the pronouncements of some of the figures he castigates. It is true that the charge of anti-Semitism, like the charge of racism, can be bandied about irresponsibly. Both are great conversation-stoppers, thought-stoppers. Still, I believe there is a dark, unedifying aura of nativism that inhabits the rhetoric of many who identify themselves as paleoconservatives, a hectoring, insular, ungenerous rhetoric.

The problem, I think, is not lack of patriotism but a too-narrow conception of American conservatism. And here I should make a confession. I have always regarded myself as a liberal—understanding the term not in its Clintonian-NPR-*New York Times*-ACLU deformation, but in the sense that Edmund Burke was a liberal. I believe in advancement according to merit, in color-blind justice, in the indissoluble link between rights and their corresponding duties. If this creed has been disrupted by a culture intoxicated by political correctness, affirmative action, and kindred evils, that says more about the betrayal of liberalism than about its inherent character.

What, after all, is a conservative? He is someone who acknowledges the fragility of civilization, who seeks to conserve the manners and morals, the habits and prejudices that have enlivened society, preserved liberty, and opposed tyranny. (Prejudices? Yes, because prejudice needn't be bigotry, as we are taught today; rather, as Burke noted, prejudice can be a means whereby a man makes virtue his habit.) The conservative is someone for whom the present tense implicates the past and the future, for whom our obligations form a pact with the dead and the unborn as well as with our contemporaries.

Such a conservatism is neither paleo- nor neo-: It is a conservatism that precedes and animates both tribes. For myself, I can dispense with both the hyphen and the prefix. I like them almost as little as I like the divisive adjectives added to hyphenate the word "American." I am not a proponent of open borders or unrestricted immigration. But this is, after all, a nation of immigrants. The task is to make sure that immigration does not outpace assimilation. The spurious imperatives of multiculturalism make that difficult. It saddens me to note that pronouncements of some paleoconservatives do as well.

David Frum has done everyone—even his opponents—a service by joining this debate.

STEPHEN J. TONSOR
Professor Emeritus of History,
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Mich.

At age 79+ and in the spring of the year it is nice to be reminded that one is still in the land of the living, even though the reminder takes the form of David Frum's crank article. One can only describe it as malicious and misinformed.

I was a conservative before conservatism was reinvented and I voted Republican and supported (with money) the Republican party, in all probability when David Frum's parents were voting for Henry Wallace.

I have always believed that one was conservative and not "neoconservative" or "paleoconservative," both terms having been invented by the "neoconservatives." Moreover I have believed that it is the duty of conservative intellectuals to think and teach and not look for a jaded glory in the fever swamps of the Potomac.

David Frum has associated my name with people and groups with whom I share neither ideas nor sympathies. I have regarded all of them as flaky cranks. Moreover I have supported both President Bushes and I have been an ardent supporter of the war against Saddam Hussein.

Finally, David Frum need not quote me from memory. My famous remarks [at the Philadelphia Society, re neoconservatism], which so stick in his craw, appeared in NATIONAL REVIEW, and the weekly records of my opinions in letters, lectures, and addresses are available—unedited, uncensored, and unsorted—in 40 boxes of papers in the Hoover Archives at Stanford.

JUSTIN RAIMONDO
Editorial Director, Antiwar.com

David Frum writes that I believe "that Israel was implicated in the terror attacks of 9/11," which is not true. My belief is that Israeli agents were watching the 9/11 hijackers in this country, knew about the plot, and somehow neglected to tell us in time to prevent it.

So, Frum "turns his back" on me, eh? I have news for him: Libertarians (of whom I am one) turned their backs on the NATIONAL REVIEW crowd sometime in the late 1960s.

JOSEPH SOBRAN
Former NR Senior Editor

In his first article for NATIONAL REVIEW, 20 years ago, David Frum objected to an arms sale to Saudi Arabia, not because it was bad for the United States, but

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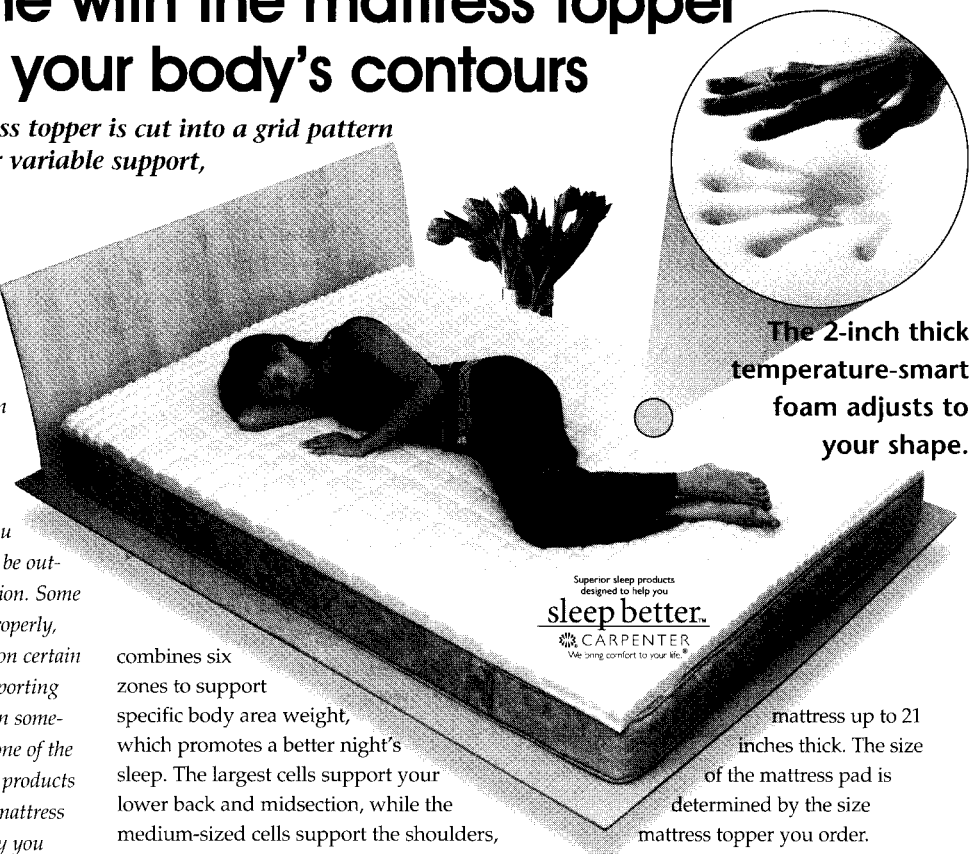

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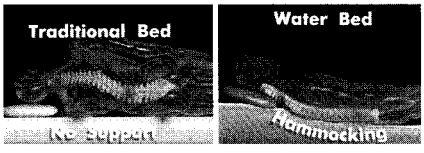

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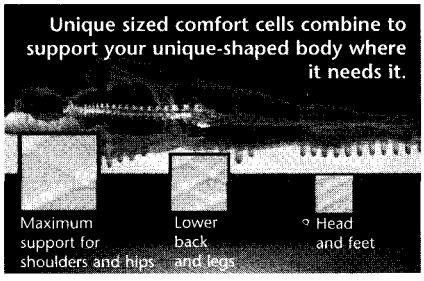
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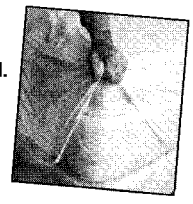

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because he deemed it bad for Israel. Then as now, he showed no interest in conservative principles for their own sake.

Frum should learn that loving America is not the same thing as finding it useful to Israel. There is more true patriotism in the simplest Iraqi soldier, fighting for his country, than in Frum and his ilk, no matter what their passports may say at the moment.

As for NATIONAL REVIEW, it had ceased being seriously conservative when I left it ten years ago. But now it has gone from the side of Whittaker Chambers to the side of Alger Hiss.

MARY ELLEN TYRMAND
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Although it is not my habit to contribute my two cents' worth to "Letters to the Editor," I feel that I must clarify certain things written in the enlightening piece by David Frum, "Unpatriotic Conservatives."

My late husband, Leopold Tyrmand, Polish and American writer and founder of *Chronicles of Culture*, would be horrified and disgusted by what passes for conservative discourse these days. I know he would be brokenhearted at the fate of his publication.

As a survivor of both Hitler and Stalin, he knew firsthand that the only hope for Europe, and even the world, was the American concept of freedom. He gave up a successful career as a noted Polish writer when he defected to the U.S. in 1966. He constantly fought the liberal cultural hegemony, at significant cost in New York, before going to Rockford, Ill. His father perished at Auschwitz, while his mother spent the war in Majdanek before emigrating to Israel in 1948.

Leopold was a passionate supporter of Israel's right to exist and was very proud of its flourishing amidst a sea of enemies. This support pales, however, when compared to his embrace of all things American. He introduced jazz to Eastern Europe after the war, calling it the "music of freedom." He was a lover of the American cultural contribution from literature to movies to cuisine.

I know that were he alive today he would wholeheartedly support our troops, our president, and our imperative to defend ourselves from our enemies, both from without and within.

DAVID FRUM RESPONDS

My article, "Unpatriotic Conservatives," has obviously provoked controversy in this magazine and elsewhere. Before taking specific account of some of the points that have been raised about it, let me note something that the critics do not say. They do not attempt to defend, let alone justify, the language of the antiwar conservatives.

And really—how could they?

The people I discussed in "Unpatriotic Conservatives" have predicted from the beginning that the war on terror would end in defeat and disaster. Many of them have blamed the war on a cabal of "neoconservatives" who owe their primary loyalty to Israel. Some of them have insinuated that the United States brought the 9/11 attacks upon itself. These are facts and they are apparently accepted by all. The only thing we are debating is the *meaning* of these facts.

My article argued that these facts were and are important. The war on terror has been long, burdensome, and often baffling, and will continue to be. It's a war in which the home front is itself a front line. In such a war, as Winston Churchill warned, "defeatism, discouragement, and disillusion" can constitute dangers as grave as anything we have to fear from the enemy's weapons. Those who set about to spread defeatism, discouragement, and disillusion do real damage.

Much of the criticism of the administration's conduct of the war on terror and the Iraq campaign has been reasonable and proper, a point I made emphatically in my article. But the people I wrote about have crossed the line that Churchill spoke of. Conservatives are quick to protest when a Bill Maher salutes the courage of the 9/11 terrorists, when a Katha Pollitt disdains the American flag, or when a Noam Chomsky tells foreign audiences that the U.S. government is prepared and disposed to let millions of people die to prosecute its "so-called war on terror." And conservatives are similarly quick to protest when mainstream liberals condone and excuse disparagement of America when done by their own ideological cousins. Conservatives ought to be equally alert to defeatism that originates on the right.

Those letter-writers who disagree with my analysis and my conclusions raise three main objections.

The first is that my protests are too harsh and too personalized. Former vice-presidential nominee Jack Kemp complains, "[N]ever have I seen the kind of personal invective or so many ad hominem attacks as were present in Frum's rant." I find it hard to believe that a professional politician can have lived so sheltered a life. In fact, I took care to eschew all invective: My case rested on quotations, not epithets. But Mr. Kemp's point seems to be that the case I made should never have been presented at all—that it is somehow illegitimately "ad hominem" to scrutinize the public words of public figures. I cannot agree. Public words are public acts; people who express themselves in public must accept that their words are subject to public criticism.

The antiwar conservatives I mentioned have sought to sway the public mind against the policies of President Bush. I brought the words they have published and broadcast together in one place, so that readers could weigh and pass judgment on the thinking and motivations of those who gave voice to such words. They are inspired, in my view, by an ideology of strained loyalty to the United States for which I should have thought Jack Kemp, of all people, would have very little sympathy.

A second objection is heard in friendly letters from William Rusher and Roger Kimball. They contend that the final conclusion of "Unpatriotic Conservatives" is excessive: that even if the antiwar conservatives think and write as they do, it is wrong to conclude that they "have finished by hating their country." Well, read the words of the antiwar conservatives and decide for yourself. The antiwar conservatives make room in their magazines and websites for people who praise Josef Stalin and Saddam Hussein and vilify Abraham Lincoln. The inevitable setbacks and reverses the

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United States has encountered in the war on terror excite them; the ensuing victories and successes seem to sadden and frustrate them. Here for example is Pat Buchanan's reaction to the military in Iraq, as recorded in a column of April 23: "Having crushed Saddam's Republican Guard, are we willing to crush an Iraqi intifada to hold onto the country? It may come down to that. Meanwhile, how do you like the empire?" As Charles Kesler wisely corrects me, we are dealing here not just with emotions and resentments but with ideas—ideas that are fiercely hostile to the American nation as it actually exists in 2003. William Rusher's judgment on the people who hold these ideas is generous—but this time, too generous.

We are dealing here not just with emotions and resentments but with ideas—ideas that are fiercely hostile to the American nation as it actually exists in 2003.

The third and most vehement objection comes in from Messrs. Keene, Kemp, and Oliver, and it boils down to this: The journalist Robert Novak ought not to have been numbered among the paleoconservatives he says he abhors. As a supply-sider and free-trader, Novak does not share the paleos' economic views, and as a veteran anti-Communist he has demonstrated that he is willing to stand up to at least some of America's enemies abroad. Novak's apparent conviction that the United States has been manipulated into fighting Ariel Sharon's war by a sinister cabal of neoconservatives should accordingly be seen as a pardonable infraction in an otherwise estimable career.

To agree with this assessment of Novak's words, one needs to believe that 9/11 was a relatively small event in American history and that being wrong about terrorism is therefore a trivial error. If, on the other hand, you believe that 9/11 marks a turning point in American history—and that the war on terror will be for 21st-century America what the Cold War was for 20th-century America—then the Keene and Kemp letters will seem less convincing.

Daniel Oliver's letter charitably reinterprets Robert Novak's words in such a way as to deny that they mean what they plainly do mean. He reads Novak to say that hatred of Israel "intensified" the terrorists' hatred of America. But Novak clearly stated that the terrorists' hatred of the United States was merely derivative from their hatred of Israel: in other words, no Israel, no 9/11.

Here's the whole of the relevant passage in Novak's column of September 13, 2001:

"Perhaps the biggest difference with Pearl Harbor is the cause of the conflict. Bush's eloquent call for unity talked of the need to 'defend freedom.' Unlike Nazi Germany's and Imperial Japan's drive for a new world order in the 1930s and 1940s, however, the hatred toward the United States today by the terrorists is an extension of its hatred of Israel rather than world dominion. Secretary of State Colin Powell's laudable efforts at being an even-handed peacemaker makes [*sic*] no difference to terrorists. Stratfor.com, the private intelligence company, reported Tuesday: 'The big winner today, intentionally or not, is the state of Israel.'"

I do not believe those words can plausibly be read the way Daniel Oliver reads them.

During the Cold War, conservatives (and many liberals for that matter) often spoke of "fellow-travelers." The term referred to people who were something less than members of the Communist party—and yet nevertheless accepted the party's doctrines and repeated its slogans. Fellow-travelers seldom owned up to their fellow-traveling: Indeed, when NATIONAL REVIEW described Linus Pauling as a fellow-traveler, citing utterances he made against President Kennedy similar in pitch to such as we hear today from some antiwar conservatives, Pauling sued. (The case was dismissed.) But the term served an important purpose: In a time of global conflict, it focused attention on the loyalty Americans owed their country—and the way that some Americans allowed their alienation from their society to attenuate that loyalty.

Here would be the way I'd think about conservatism's paleo problem. Imagine you are a liberal Democrat in, say, the year 1947. You have friends and associates who were with you during the New Deal and World War II. Now you are facing a new threat, Soviet Communism. Suddenly, some of those old friends and associates are not with you anymore. What do you do about them? Do you excuse your pro-Soviet friends because they were once staunch anti-Nazis? Back then the correct answer was no. And a similar answer is correct again today.

Some final points. In a December 2001 column, Justin Raimondo asserted that it "seems beyond dispute" that "the Israelis had some significant foreknowledge and involvement in the events preceding 9/11." If he now means to retract those words, he should say so explicitly. I can't imagine where Stephen Tonsor got the mad idea that my parents voted for Henry Wallace or what he imagines it would prove about me if they had.

I thank Pete du Pont, Myron Magnet, and Arnold Steinberg for their kind and thought-provoking words. I'd like to add a special thank-you to Mary Ellen Tyrmand for her moving reminder of what the United States has meant to the millions of people throughout the world who have been liberated from tyranny by American power, despite the opposition of isolationists of the far left and far right. **NR**

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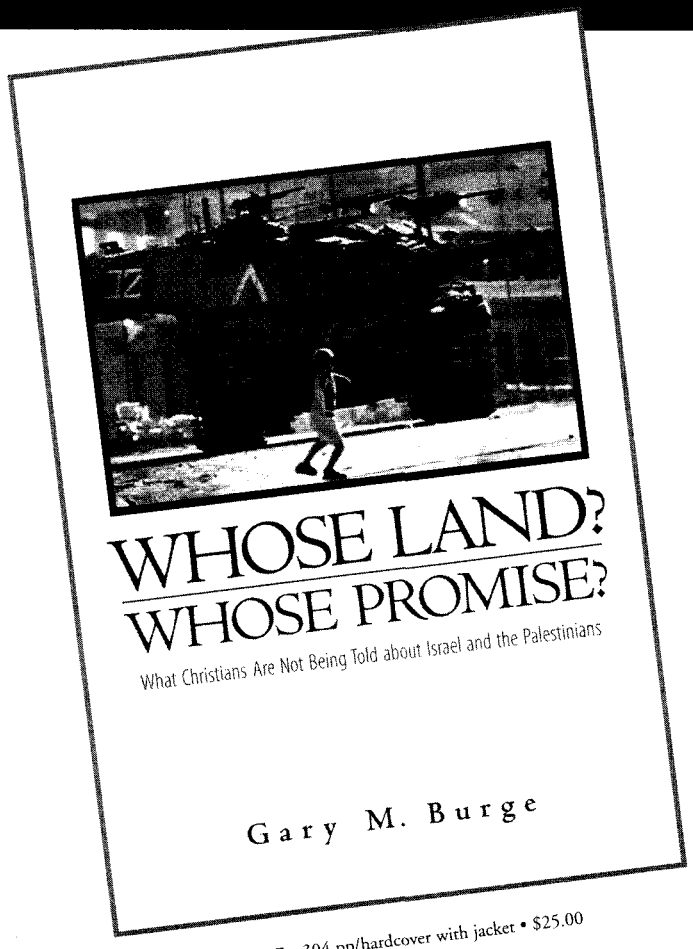
—Gary M. Burge, author



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GARY M. BURGE earned his Ph.D. at King's College in Aberdeen, Scotland and is professor of New Testament at Wheaton College & Graduate School in Wheaton, Illinois. The author of several previous books, he is president of Evangelicals for Middle East Understanding, a Christian advocacy network promoting understanding and partnerships between Arab and Western churches.

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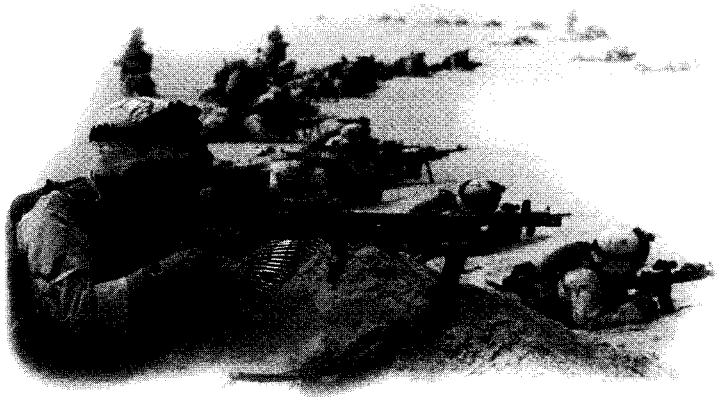

■ AT WAR ■

The Men Who Won the War

An 'embed' looks at our soldiers

JIM LACEY

SINCE returning from Iraq a short time ago I have been answering a lot of questions about the war from friends, family, and strangers. When they ask me how it was over there I find myself glossing over the fighting, the heat, the sandstorms, and the flies (these last could have taught the Iraqi army a thing or two about staying power). Instead, I talk about the soldiers I met, and how they reflected the best of America. A lot of people are going to tell the story of how this war was fought; I would rather say something about the men who won the war.

War came early for the 1st Brigade of the 101st Airborne when an otherwise quiet night in the Kuwaiti desert was shattered by thunderous close-quarters grenade blasts. Sgt. Hasan Akbar, a U.S. soldier, had thrown grenades into an officers' tent, killing two and wounding a dozen others. Adding to the immediate confusion was the piercing scream of SCUD alarms, which kicked in the second Akbar's grenade exploded. For a moment, it was a scene of near panic and total chaos.

Just minutes after the explosions, a perimeter was established around the area of the attack, medics were treating the wounded, and calls for evacuation vehicles and helicopters were already being sent out. Remarkably, the very people who should have been organizing all of this were the ones lying on the stretchers, seriously wounded. It fell to junior officers and untested sergeants to take charge and lead. Without hesitation everyone stepped up and unfalteringly did just that. I stood in amazement as two captains (Townlee Hendrick and Tony Jones) directed the evacuation of the wounded, established a hasty defense, and helped to organize a search for the culprit. They did all this despite bleeding heavily from their wounds. For over six hours, these two men ran things while refusing to be evacuated until they were sure all of the men in their command were safe.

Two days later Capt. Jones left the hospital and hitchhiked back to the unit: He had heard a rumor that it was about to move into Iraq and he wanted to be there. As Jones—dressed only in boots, a hospital gown, and a flak vest—limped toward headquarters, Col. Hodges, the 1st Brigade's commander, announced, "I see that Captain Jones has returned to us in full martial splendor." The colonel later said that he was tempted to send Jones to the unit surgeon for further evaluation, but that he didn't feel he had the right to tell another man not to fight: Hodges himself had elected to leave two grenade fragments in his arm so that he could return to his command as quickly as possible.

The war had not even begun and already I was aware that I had fallen in with a special breed of men. Over the next four weeks, nothing I saw would alter this impression. A military historian once told me that soldiers could forgive their officers any fault save cowardice. After the grenade attack I knew these men were not cowards, but I had yet to learn that the brigade's leaders had made a cult of bravery. A few examples will suffice.

While out on what he called "battlefield circulation," Col. Hodges was surveying suspected enemy positions with one of his battalion commanders (Lt. Col. Chris Hughes) when a soldier yelled "Incoming" to alert everyone that mortar shells were headed our way. A few soldiers moved closer to a wall, but Hodges and Hughes never budged and only briefly glanced up when the rounds hit a few hundred yards away. As Hodges completed his review and prepared to leave, another young soldier asked him when they would get to kill whoever was firing the mortar. Hodges smiled and said, "Don't be in a hurry to kill him. They might replace that guy with someone who can shoot."

The next day, a convoy Col. Hodges was traveling in was ambushed by several Iraqi paramilitary soldiers. A ferocious firefight ensued, but Hodges never left the side of his vehicle. Puffing on a cigar as he directed the action, Hodges remained constantly exposed to fire. When two Kiowa helicopters swooped in to pulverize the enemy strongpoint with rocket

101ST AIRBORNE/JASON REED/REUTERS

Mr. Lacey, a Time magazine correspondent, was embedded with the 101st Airborne Division.

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Two peoples, the Palestinians and the Israeli Jews living side by side in peace. The "two-state solution" has been proposed for decades to terminate the increasingly violent Arab-Israeli conflict. It is now being resurrected as the "Road Map," sponsored by the "quartet," consisting of the United States, Russia, the European Union, and the United Nations.

What are the facts?

A false premise: The basic premise, that the "Palestinians" need and deserve a state, is false. Because there are no such people as the "Palestinians," and before the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, nobody had ever heard of them. Until Jewish immigration to Palestine began, the country was sparsely settled, inhabited mostly by roving Bedouins. The industry and prosperity, the agricultural development, and modern infrastructure brought by the Jews proved an irresistible magnet for the Arabs from the surrounding regions.

The "two-state solution" has been tried before. Its most recent incarnation was the Oslo Accord, a detailed and elaborate plan, at the end of which a "Palestinian" state was envisioned. Israel, foolishly having acquiesced to the return of Yasser Arafat and his fellow thugs into the country, meticulously adhered to every point of that agreement, and in good faith turned big chunks of its country over to the control of the so-called "Palestinian Authority."

> "No nation can be expected to enter into a suicide pact. Therefore... there will be no "two-state solution!"

All the "Palestinians" had to do in return for this generosity, unprecedented in world history, was to renounce violence. But the "Palestinians," with the enthusiastic support of virtually all of the Arab states and of the Iranians, methodically violated even that modest requirement. They are armed to the teeth and continue to engage in bloody and violent struggle. They have caused untold havoc – close to 1,000 Israeli Jews killed and many more seriously wounded, just in the last two years.

The members of the "quartet" have taken it upon themselves to decide the destiny of Israel, without any consultation with Israel itself. Of its four members, only the United States can be considered friendly toward Israel. But even our country, sad to say, seems to consider sacrificing Israel in the vain hope of currying favor with the Arabs and the Moslems of the world to assuage their rage and anger in the wake of our war with Iraq.

Implacable hostility: The United Nations are inexorably hostile to Israel, beginning with the infamous resolution that Zionism equals racism. The European Union – unable to shed its centuries-old poison of anti-Semitism and in order to appease an ever-increasing Moslem minority, has cloaked its antagonism toward the Jews into the more acceptable anti-Israelism. Russia, despite its bloody problems with its own Moslems, having killed thousands in Chechnya, but with an eye on the billions of dollars of potential profit from the Arab nations, continues to be steadfast in its opposition to Israel.

At first blush, the "two-state solution" would seem to be a reasonable one: Two states for two peoples. But there are no two peoples; there is only tiny Israel – smaller than Lake Michigan – opposed by the vast array of implacably hostile Arabs – twenty-two states with over 250 million people – who want to carve a "Palestinian" state out of Israel's heartland. And the Arabs make no secret that that has only one single-minded purpose: to serve as a springboard for the final assault against Israel and its destruction – once and for all.

The world is fixated on creating a state for the "Palestinians," a non-existing people. Oddly, the world and the U.N. do not show any interest for real peoples, such as the Kurds, who have been languishing for centuries under the yoke of four different nations; for the Basques, whose struggle for freedom from France and Spain finds little sympathy; or for the Tibetans, who have suffered for decades under the brutality of the Chinese. And the United Nations has never acted on behalf of the suppressed Berbers in North Africa or concerned itself with the terrible fate of the Sudanese Christians. No, it is only the "Palestinians" who engage the attention of the world body.

The failure of the Oslo Accord and the bloody and seemingly never-ending intifada have proved that the entire Arab world and the Iranians have only one foreign policy goal, and that is the destruction of Israel. U.S. generals know and Israeli generals know that Israel, without Judea/Samaria (the "West Bank"), is indefensible. The Arabs don't care about a twenty-third Arab state. They want the destruction of Israel. With the Arabs dominating the Judean heights and with that the ability to cut Israel in two at its narrow 9-mile-wide waist in one armored thrust, the two state so-called "solution" would be the death knell for Israel. It is deplorable that the United States – Israel's best friend by far – would attempt to impose such a "solution" on its staunchest ally and friend and on the only country in that entire area of the world that shares America's democratic and humane ideals and on which our country can count in any contingency. No nation can be expected to enter into a suicide pact. Therefore, regardless of what the "quartet" or anybody else might wish to impose on Israel, there will be no "Palestinian" state, no "two-state solution."

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fire, he turned to some journalists watching the action and quipped, "That's your tax dollars at work."

Bravery inspires men, but brains and quick thinking win wars. In one particularly tense moment, a company of U.S. soldiers was preparing to guard the Mosque of Ali—one of the most sacred Muslim sites—when agitators in what had been a friendly crowd started shouting that they were going to storm the mosque. In an instant, the Iraqis began to chant and a riot seemed imminent. A couple of nervous soldiers slid their weapons into fire mode, and I thought we were only moments away from a slaughter. These soldiers had just fought an all-night battle. They were exhausted, tense, and prepared to crush any riot with violence of their own. But they were also professionals, and so, when their battalion commander, Chris Hughes, ordered them to take a knee, point their weapons to the ground, and start smiling, that is exactly what they did. Calm returned. By placing his men in the most nonthreatening posture possible, Hughes had sapped the crowd of its aggression. Quick thinking and iron discipline had reversed an ugly situation and averted disaster.

Bravery inspires men, but brains and quick thinking win wars.

Since then, I have often wondered how we created an army of men who could fight with ruthless savagery all night and then respond so easily to an order to "smile" while under impending threat. Historian Stephen Ambrose said of the American soldier: "When soldiers from any other army, even our allies, entered a town, the people hid in the cellars. When Americans came in, even into German towns, it meant smiles, chocolate bars and C-rations." Ours has always been an army like no other, because our soldiers reflect a society unlike any other. They are pitiless when confronted by armed enemy fighters and yet full of compassion for civilians and even defeated enemies.

American soldiers immediately began saving Iraqi lives at the conclusion of any fight. Medics later said that the Iraqi wounded they treated were astounded by our compassion. They expected they would be left to suffer or die. I witnessed Iraqi paramilitary troops using women and children as human shields, turning grade schools into fortresses, and defiling their own holy sites. Time and again, I saw Americans taking unnecessary risks to clear buildings without firing or using grenades, because it might injure civilians. I stood in awe as 19-year-olds refused to return enemy fire because it was coming from a mosque.

It was American soldiers who handed over food to hungry Iraqis, who gave their own medical supplies to Iraqi doctors, and who brought water to the thirsty. It was American soldiers who went door-to-door in a slum because a girl was rumored to have been injured in the fighting; when they found her, they called in a helicopter to take her to an Army hospital. It was American soldiers who wept when a three-year-old was carried out of the rubble where she had been killed by Iraqi mortar fire. It was American soldiers who cleaned up houses they had been fighting over and later occupied—they wanted the places to look at least somewhat tidy when the residents returned.

It was these same soldiers who stormed to Baghdad in only a couple of weeks, accepted the surrender of three Iraqi Army divisions, massacred any Republican Guard unit that stood and fought, and disposed of a dictator and a regime with ruthless efficiency. There is no other army—and there are no other soldiers—in the world capable of such merciless fighting and possessed of such compassion for their fellow man. No society except America could have produced them.

Before I end this I want to point out one other quality of the American soldier: his sense of justice. After a grueling fight, a company of infantrymen was resting and opening their first mail delivery of the war. One of the young soldiers had received a care package and was sharing the home-baked cookies with his friends. A photographer with a heavy French accent asked if he could have one. The soldier looked him over and said there would be no cookies for Frenchmen. The photographer then protested that he was half Italian. Without missing a beat, the soldier broke a cookie in half and gave it to him. It was a perfect moment and a perfect reflection of the American soldier. **NR**

■ **IRAQ**

A Little Patience, Please

Iraq won't look like Our Town overnight

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

THE absolute monarchs of the op-ed pages and television commentary predicted fearful outcomes to the Iraqi Freedom operation—hundreds of thousands of casualties on all sides, Baghdad razed, the Muslim world in an uproar, every Arab an Osama bin Laden. Well, things haven't turned out like that. President Bush and his administration explained what they would do, and did it. Unwilling to give credit where credit is due, the absolute monarchs have moved on to predict fresh fearful outcomes—a Khomeinist dictatorship of the Shia ayatollahs, an intifada against the American "occupation," every Arab once again an Osama bin Laden. What is most striking in this immense failure: the bias against the administration, the ignorance, or the contrast with the professionalism of the military?

When a totalitarian regime is overthrown, the very first likelihood is the settling of scores. In 1945 concentration-camp survivors killed their SS guards when they could. In Budapest during the revolution of 1956, the crowds hanged Communist secret policemen on lampposts. In a final showdown with the Communists, even the newly democratic Boris Yeltsin left many dead when his tanks shelled the Moscow White House.

Since the days of the British, moreover, every previous change of regime in Iraq has involved mayhem and murder. No-

Mr. Pryce-Jones is an NR senior editor and the author of, among other books, The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs.

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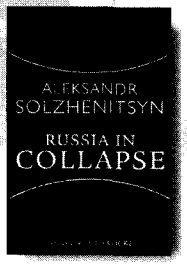

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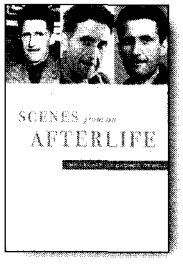

Considered by different groups and at different times as a prophet, secular saint, model leftist, exemplary liberal, and proto-neoconservative, among many other things, George Orwell was a writer with whom virtually every intellectual movement of the late twentieth-century felt it must contend. John Rodden's work is a masterful and wide-ranging account of the impact and appropriation of Orwell and his ideas since his death in 1950.

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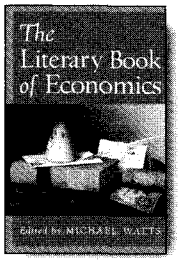

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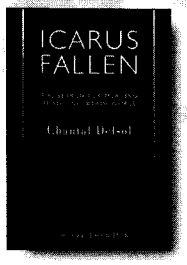

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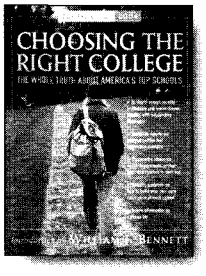

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thing of the kind has occurred so far in Iraq. Under Saddam Hussein, Arabs massacred Kurds and drove them out of Mosul and Kirkuk, stealing their homes and property. Reclaiming what is rightfully theirs, the Kurds have not killed those who so maltreated them. In Basra, the mob caught a notorious secret-police chief; they did not lynch him as they might have, but handed him over to the British. The families of victims are often able to name and identify the Ba'athist secret policemen and torturers who committed crimes against them. Many of them expressed their feelings by looting whatever of the former regime's real or symbolic property was within reach, but they have not taken the law into their own hands in revenge killings. That is remarkable, and grounds for hope.

Life is instead approaching normality. Former general Jay Garner and his staff of several hundred have teamed up with Iraqi officials and technicians. The electricity supply will soon be fully restored in all major cities, and with it comes clean water and the purification of sewage. There is no hunger; markets are operating. Gas stations are open. Schoolchildren no longer have to glorify Saddam in class. The regular police force is back at work, in new uniforms, armed and using weapons handed to them by Americans to enforce good conduct. Military lawyers are trying to establish interim criminal and civil codes. Economists are debating what the post-Saddam currency ought to be.

Administration is not government, and in that respect Iraq is still a political vacuum. For reasons that seem to have to do with departmental in-fighting in Washington, the United States did not prepare for an Iraqi government-in-waiting. Power is therefore lying in the streets—to adopt the famous phrase coined for the Bolsheviks in 1917—and someone has only to pick it up. All sorts of contenders with all sorts of credentials have rushed forward, each with claims to be representing one or another of the ethnicities and religious sects which make up the kaleidoscope of Iraq. Some of these contenders are at the national level—for instance Ahmad Chalabi, leader of the Iraqi National Congress, and known to have the Pentagon's backing but also the blocking of the State Department—others at regional or city levels. Out of the blue, one Muhammad Mohsen Zubaidi appointed himself mayor of Baghdad and set up so many committees to deal with municipal issues that the military has put a stop to his activities.

Other contenders still are tribal elders or sheikhs accustomed to authority and respect. The traditional Kurdish leaders Jalal Talabani and Massoud Barzani speak for their people, and make it clear that Kurds expect to be rewarded for their loyalty to the coalition, as well as their restraint towards a Turkey unhappy to see the Kurds enjoying freedom. For the past decade, they have shown themselves capable of running Iraqi Kurdistan at least as democratically as the Turks run Turkey: not perfectly, but not too imperfectly either.

Representing only about a fifth of the population, Sunni Muslims have hitherto governed Iraq. Ba'athist ideology began as an unholy compound of Communism and Nazism, and ended as the justification of Sunni rule over everyone else. For the Sunni minority, the downfall of Saddam is a calamity marking the end of their supremacy, and putting them in fear of their lives at the hands of those they oppressed. A would-be Sunni successor to Saddam needs the unusual credential of having stood up to Saddam, and enough civic courage to tell his fellow Sunnis how blindly cruel they have been while in power. Had the State Department been able to find such a paragon, an Iraqi government-in-waiting might have accompanied the Marines.

In Iraq, Shia outnumber Sunnis by about three to one. In neighboring Iran, Ayatollah Khomeini and his successors have attempted to widen Shi'ism into some sort of universal Islamist weapon against the West, in particular the American "Great Satan." To Saddam, the Shia were fanatics in the grip of religious frenzy, and as a precaution he banned traditional Shia processions and rituals in their holy cities of Karbala and Najaf. The State Department evidently views the Shia much as Saddam did. Mercilessly persecuting their own Shia minority, the Saudis also contribute to this unspoken coalition to keep Shia down everywhere.

The fall of Saddam gives the Iraqi Shia a sense of freedom and power, for the first time in their history. Large numbers of the faithful took to the streets to revive their traditional processions and rituals, in which they flagellate themselves and mutilate themselves with swords and knives. The blood-drenched spectacle confirmed everything the State Department dreads. Some spokesman from the Hawza—a seminary which acts as the main Shia powerhouse in Karbala—then openly declared, "We want to establish an Islamic, Shia state, the same as happened in Iran." Secretary of defense Donald Rumsfeld quickly declared that the United States was not prepared to see Iranian-style dictatorship replace Saddam's dictatorship. Gen. Garner takes the same line.

Iran has sent representatives and undercover agents to work for an Iraq in Shia hands. The media monarchs draw the instant conclusion that another Shia extremist state must be in the making. But the

KARIM SAHIB/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE

Iraqi Shia mutilate themselves in a public ritual in Karbala.

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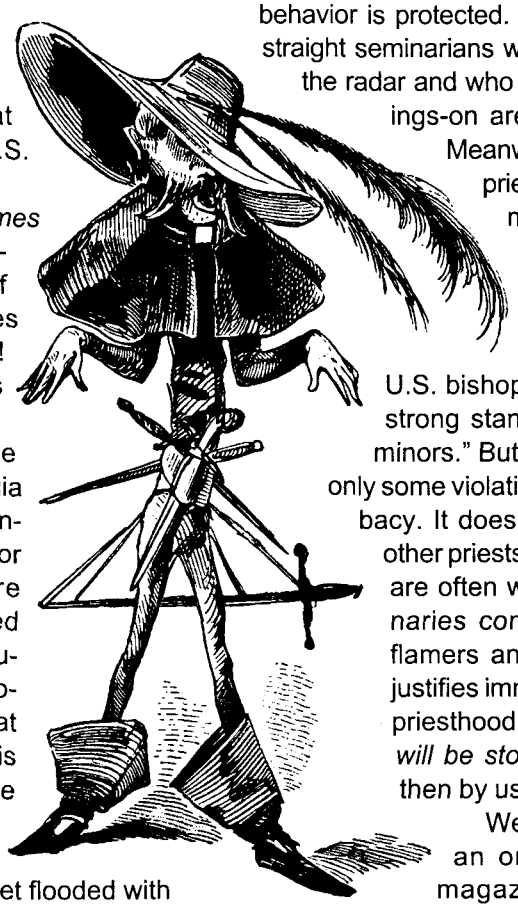
The Lavender Mafia In the Priesthood

Priestly sex scandals in the U.S. Catholic Church were few and far between before seminaries began accepting homosexuals in the 1960s. The homosexual population of the U.S. is estimated at between 2 and 10%. Homosexuals in the priesthood are now estimated to be between 30 and 60%. A major study conducted by *The Kansas City Star* found that "priests are dying of AIDS at a rate at least four times that of the general U.S. population...."

Is celibacy the culprit? No. *The Times of London* found that priests in the (Anglican) Church of England are dying of AIDS at a rate roughly 2 to 3 times greater than Catholic priests in the U.S.! Note well: The Church of England has *always* allowed priests to marry.

Not surprisingly, 90 to 98% of the publicized cases of priestly pedophilia committed by U.S. Catholic priests involve *boys* (whether prepubescent or postpubescent). Not all "gays" are pedophiles, but pedophilia — called "intergenerational love" by homosexuals — is part and parcel of the homosexual subculture, which places great emphasis on youthful physique and is notoriously promiscuous, and whose publications commonly carry themes of adult-child sex.



How did a number of seminaries get flooded with homosexuals? Not only because many bishops and religious orders have allowed seminaries to admit homosexuals — in direct violation of Vatican policy — but because certain vocations directors and seminaries reject a candidate, not because he's homosexual but because he's "homophobic" — they also reject a candidate if he's deemed "rigid" (a code word for orthodox).

In certain seminaries, professors openly dissent from Catholic teaching on homosexuality, and homosexual behavior is protected. And those orthodox, morally straight seminarians who managed to get in under the radar and who object to the scandalous goings-on are persecuted or forced out. Meanwhile, sodomites are ordained priests, and they protect and promote one another, forming what is widely known as "the Lavender Mafia," extending even into episcopal ranks.

Thanks to the media, the U.S. bishops have finally had to take a strong stand against "sexual abuse of minors." But the get-tough policy affects only some violations of the sacred vow of celibacy. It doesn't affect sex with men and other priests. As long as sodomite priests are often winked at, and certain seminaries continue to be hothouses for flamers and promote the dissent that justifies immorality, sexual license in the priesthood will continue. But it *must and will be stopped*, if not by the bishops then by us the laity.

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Shia are not in fact a bloc of undifferentiated fanatics. Their ayatollahs depend on genealogy and learning for authority. The most authoritative is Grand Ayatollah Ali Sistani in Najaf, a man well into his seventies. First he advised everyone not to resist the coalition, and then he declared he would not "interfere in the type of government the Iraqi people wish to choose." Other ayatollahs have followers or factions but their political ambitions and capacities for violence cancel each other out.

In a further division, many Shia—including Ahmad Chalabi and most of the INC—have a Western secular outlook. It is not clear whether the State Department objects to Chalabi because of his personality, his career, or the fact that he is a Shia rather than a Sunni. By luck rather than judgment, this hostility to him may still turn out to be for the best. Should he in the end be the man to pick up the power lying in the streets, he will have done so on his own, not as an American stooge.

It hardly takes a Locke or a Montesquieu to see that the coherent way to fill the political vacuum is to convene a constituent assembly. Every ethnic and religious entity should send its representatives, some of whom no doubt will be self-selected, and a few may well try to be wreckers. Time and patience are the prerequisites for reaching agreement to share power among so many identities and interests. Gen. Garner speaks of a process lasting a few months, after which he will be handing responsibility for government over to Iraqis. Chalabi and the intellectuals of the INC hope that a constituent assembly will come up with the blueprint for a federal system of government, but expect that the details won't be settled for at least two years.

Nazi Germany took ten years to become a Federal Republic, and Russia is still shaking off some of the Soviet legacy after more than a decade. Iraq will do well to match that sort of timescale. American forces will have to stay for as long as it takes to preserve the peace and guarantee the workability of the new government. Of course in the event that someone from whatever background picks up power to make himself another Supreme Leader at the expense of everyone else, then all bets are off, and for once the media might be right to expect the worst. **NR**

ROMAN GENN

■ **EUROPE**

The View from Pluto

Germans see the world with peculiar eyes

JEFFREY GEDMIN

Berlin

THE day after Baghdad fell I was ordering coffee with a friend at Starbucks in Berlin. He is a freelance journalist and hails from Basra. His wife still has family in Iraq. When we mentioned to the young woman on the other side of the counter that we were celebrating developments, she looked a tad horrified. Najem had already told me about the neighbor who had knocked on his door to offer condolences. He and his wife, Inaam, had said that yes, they were afraid for their relatives because of the fighting in Baghdad—but they were elated that the American liberators had finally arrived. This provoked a lecture about an "illegal war of aggression."

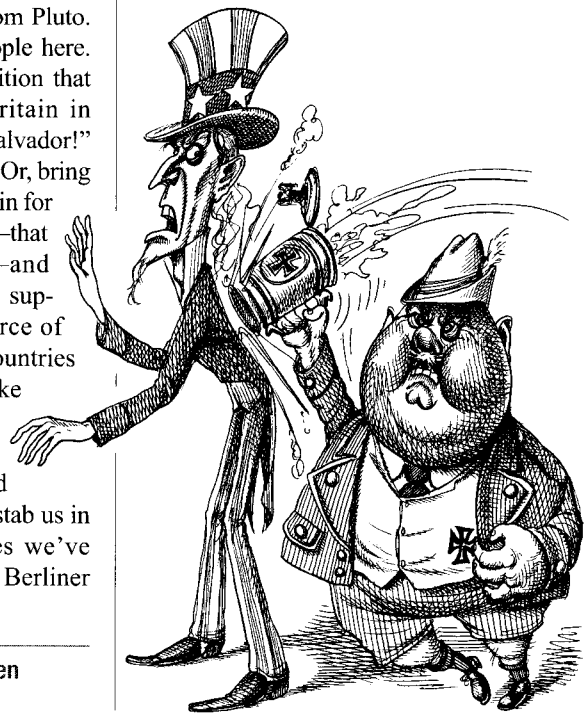
Americans are from Mars and Europeans are from Venus, says Robert Kagan. The Germans? They must be from Pluto. It's easy to get a rise out of people here. Just mention the 45-nation coalition that helped the U.S. and Great Britain in Iraq. "Yes, Micronesia and El Salvador!" comes the cynical, hooting reply. Or, bring up Tony Blair. There's only disdain for the British prime minister here—that "poodle" of the Americans—and fury that other countries would support George W. Bush. It's a source of great frustration that "real" countries joined the coalition—nations like Japan, Australia, South Korea, Italy, Denmark, the Netherlands, Poland, and Portugal. "How could [Spanish prime minister] Aznar stab us in the back after all the subsidies we've provided over the years?" one Berliner wondered.

Mr. Gedmin is director of the Aspen Institute, Berlin.

The old Atlantic alliance is crumbling. Germany's foreign policy is becoming more French, bent on rivalry and opposition to the U.S. France is looking (even) more Gaullist. The European Union—i.e., France and Germany (or "Old Europe")—was quick to pressure the U.S. about the U.N.'s role in post-war Iraq. But then there are those pro-American countries in "New Europe," which seek admission into the EU. Ten of them supported the U.S.-led war against Saddam Hussein. Romano Prodi, president of the European Commission, recently applauded renewed German and French efforts to build a European defense, adding: "I keep telling the applicant countries in Eastern Europe that in the long run they will not be able to seek prosperity from a united Europe and security from America." Does Prodi really mean that the East Europeans will eventually have to choose?

The French have chosen. For years, we had downplayed France's maneuvering against American foreign-policy aims as "the French being French." Anytime the Americans were serious and our vital interests were at stake, the French might flirt with the enemy, but in the end they would always be solidly with us. Iraq was different.

It was ironic for France to demand more time for U.N. inspectors, since it abstained when the Security Council



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created UNMOVIC in December 1999 (Paris was joined by Russia, China, and Malaysia). The major French oil companies Elf Aquitaine and Total had just signed lucrative contracts with Hussein's regime, and Baghdad was openly threatening to cancel the deals if Paris followed Washington's harder line. France's frequent lament of American "unilateralism" and breach of international law is hypocritical in light of its behavior in Africa: Since 1960, France has intervened 37 times on that continent, always alone and without asking the U.N. for permission.

Paris had a valuable client in Saddam Hussein. France accounted for nearly 25 percent of Iraq's imports. But for France the Iraq debate was never just about Iraq. It was about two longstanding French ambitions: to tie down the United States and to lead Europe. Poor Berlin! German chancellor Gerhard Schroeder was so worried about being the junior partner of the United States that he ended up the junior partner of France. But old French Gaullism and Germany's new Euro-nationalism serve a common end: cutting America down to size.

Historian Arnulf Baring once wrote that the overwhelmingly positive view that Americans have of Germany stems from the fact that tens of thousands of servicemen and their families over the years have visited castles, enjoyed bratwurst, and cruised happily down the Rhine. If more had been able to read the editorial pages they might have had a different view.

To understand what makes today's Germany tick, one must keep two things in mind. First, Americans probably underestimated Germany's frustration at having to play a subordinate role during the Cold War. The rest of Western Europe was dependent on us, too, but the divided, emasculated Germans probably felt it—and resented it—more than most. Today, they're tired of playing second fiddle. Alas, two facts keep getting in the way: American power and German weakness—the first a near national obsession. The Christian Democrats' foreign-policy spokesman, Karl Lamers, rejected missile defense several years ago on the grounds that it would make the Americans "masters of the universe." A television poll before the Iraq war asked Germans whether they should "give in" to the

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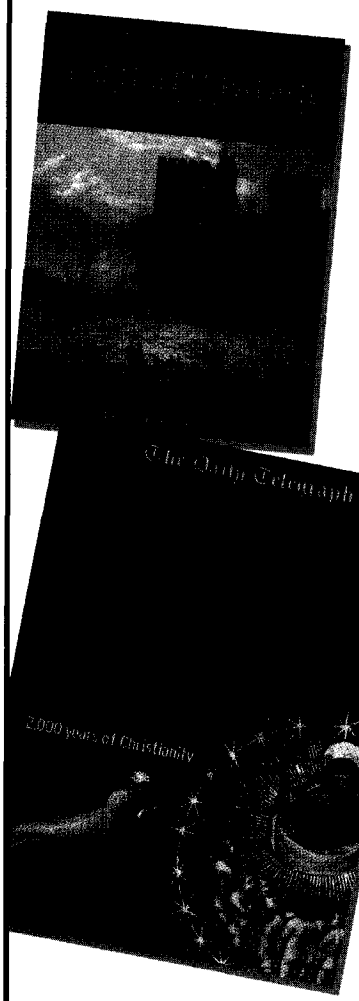

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Americans over Iraq—a whopping 80 percent said no. Like the French, many Germans seemed more interested in containing America than in containing Saddam Hussein. A recent editorial in the Berlin daily *Der Tagesspiegel* sums it up this way: "The superpower was supposed to be put in its place . . . [but] morality and world opinion were useless. America can do whatever it wants."

Second, the old icons of German identity—such as Konrad Adenauer and Ludwig Erhard, who helped integrate Germany into the West, establish a successful market economy, and form close ties to the U.S.—have been replaced by nationalists (or national pacifists) with ambivalent views on markets and America. The new icons come from left and right and include such figures as Egon Bahr, the architect of Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik; the late Rudolf Augstein, longtime publisher of the popular weekly *Der Spiegel*; novelist and Nobel laureate Günter Grass; and former president and CDU member Richard von Weizsaecker. Von Weizsaecker berated America recently for its "increasing unilateralism." After 9/11, Augstein demanded that "Germany rethink its relationship with the United States," since the Americans had begun to bomb a "starving country" like Afghanistan.

I recently attended a performance of Mahler in Berlin. Imagine, I thought to myself, that you were German. Thirteen years of Nazism ruined forever the reputation of the country that gave the world Bach and Beethoven, Goethe, Schiller, and Schopenhauer. Imagine further that a young country—whose contributions to civilization include McDonald's and Michael Jackson—defeated the Nazis, rebuilt the country, protected the West Germans during the Cold War, and helped them finally to unite once the Wall was down. What's the saying? If you want to make someone your friend, let him do you a favor, and not the other way around.

Perhaps we can begin anew with the East Europeans. We helped liberate them. We've pushed for the EU to open its doors to them. We're admitting nearly all to NATO. The U.S. believes that the new Europeans will stick by America in the future, just as they supported us in the Iraq war. We're also convinced that their pro-American passions will transform the EU. The French and Germans, both now very allergic to the idea of American leadership in Europe, have another idea. They also believe time is on their side. The East Europeans are "definitely not" more pro-American than pro-EU, says Günter Verheugen, the German who is in charge of enlargement at the European Commission in Brussels. In the case of Iraq, candidate countries "did not want to endanger ratification of their membership in NATO by the U.S. Congress," he adds. Maybe.

In any case, Paris and Berlin have their own influence. There are the endless subsidies after which EU applicants salivate. There are the more than 80,000 pages of regulations and "harmonization" that countries have to swallow before they are permitted full membership in the club. And it is plain now that there is a heavy price to be paid for "immature" behavior (Chirac's word) over Iraq. "We've made clear to [the East Europeans] that this will never happen again," says an adviser to the coalition government in Berlin, a reference to the letter of the "Vilnius 10" pledging solidarity with the United States before the war.

It's easy for wishful Americans to forget the near-sacred status of EU membership. Even the Thatcherite Vaclav Klaus, the new Czech president, has softened his criticism of Brussels in recent years. The Czech government supports French and German aims for a separate European defense. The Poles, often accused of being America's "Trojan horse," are conscious of the need to be good Europeans. "Buying F-16s from the U.S.," says Adam Krzeminski, a columnist with the Warsaw weekly *Polityka*, "is balanced by purchasing other aircraft and radar from Finland, Great Britain, Italy, or Spain." EU membership is crucial to "prosperity and modernization of our country," he says.

Yes, Poland supported America on Iraq. But a majority of Poles did not. In Hungary the socialist government did; the conservative opposition did not. The center of gravity seems to be shifting, and "New Europe" could help the U.S. in the future. It's important that Washington find ways to reward its friends. But after EU enlargement, the line between Old and New Europe is likely to blur. The EU has its own cards to play. And opposing America feels so good. **NR**

■ **POLITICS**

He, Gary Hart

The author of *I, Che Guevara*, gets frisky again

JOHN J. MILLER

Some people are afraid of heights. Others are scared of spiders. Gary Hart has a different phobia, according to a quote on his website: "My greatest fear is never having another opportunity to serve my country."

Yes, the former Democratic senator from Colorado is thinking about running for president. Again.

Most Americans haven't heard about Hart since 1987, when his greatest fear should have been getting caught aboard the *Monkey Business* with Donna Rice. Hart had been a leading candidate for his party's presidential nomination, but the scandal chased him out of politics for more than a decade. Now he's back, still married to his wife of 44 years, and having waged a long and earnest campaign to be taken seriously once more.

The truth is that the 66-year-old Hart never dropped totally out of sight. Since quitting elective office, he's written eight books, including three novels. He also completed a Ph.D. in philosophy at Oxford. The most important piece of his rehabilitation, however, came in 1998, when Bill Clinton appointed him co-chairman of the U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century. Since the terrorist strikes, Hart has been a regular fixture on the cable-news talk shows, posing as an elder statesman and a prophet of the dangers to come. He looks the part, too—right down to the new wisps of gray in his familiar billowy hair.

But how well does he fill this role? There can be no doubt that Gary Hart is an intelligent man. Yet he also confirms the

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saying that bright minds don't make little mistakes—they make huge ones, and sometimes many of them. Throughout his career, Hart has demonstrated nothing so much as an exquisite talent for big blunders. He's kept on doing it right through the recent war with Iraq.

During his heyday in the 1980s, Hart was one of Washington's leading anti-anti-Communists. "We must learn that in the Third World, the real enemy is hunger, poverty, and disease, not Communism," he said in 1984. "Our goal in the Third World must be overcoming poverty, not overpowering Communism." Hart has always had a soft spot for Fidel Castro. "Cuba is not totalitarian," he told the *Washington Post* in 1982, "and it's not democratic." Asked his interviewer, "If Cuba is not a totalitarian government, what is it?" Hart answered, "I don't know."

In the 1990s, Hart met with Castro and agreed to serve as his secret envoy to the Clinton administration. He shared Castro's concern that Cuban-Americans were plotting terrorism against him. "I became a kind of hollow log in which the Cuban government was sending messages to our

Gary Hart

government," he would later explain.

By this time, Hart seems to have decided that Castro, in his heart of hearts, is really a democrat. At least, that's the assumption of his novel *I, Che Guevara*, published in 2000 under the pseudonym John Blackthorn. The book—supposedly a thriller, but not in fact very thrilling—starts off with Castro announcing plans to hold free elections. "We have to pick some new leaders," the dictator declares. The story then unfolds as a half-remembered figure from Cuba's past begins roaming the island and describing a third way between the Communism of Castro's rule and the capitalism of the Miami exiles. He is Che Guevara. (In real life, this icon of the Left was killed in 1967.) It's awfully hard not to see Hart pouring a lot of himself into this character, who quotes Jefferson in his diary and speaks of the need to build a "true republic." In other words, they read like excerpts from *Restoration of the Republic: The Jeffersonian Ideal in 21st Century America*—Hart's book based on his Oxford dissertation.

Two of his other books are on the military: a topic he specialized in during his Senate years, when he also routinely called for massive cuts in the defense appropriations that were winning the Cold War. Despite being a constant critic of this spending, Hart somehow also felt that it didn't go far enough. A month after Iraq attacked Kuwait in 1990, for instance, Hart predicted the fate of what would

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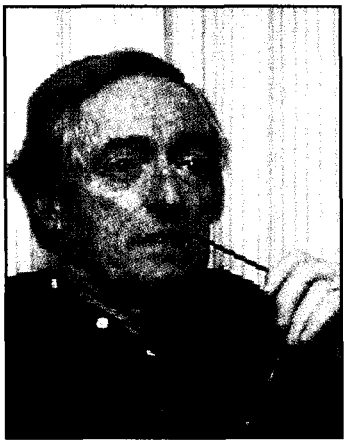

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become Operation Desert Storm. "After twelve years on the Senate Armed Services Committee, I know we are not prepared to fight a war in the desert," he told a Seattle audience. "Our weapons were designed to fight a war in Europe." In a column for the *New York Times*, he predicted dire consequences: "Loss of lives, including American lives, would be substantial."

If September 11 hadn't happened, Hart would be little more than a footnote in political history as the philanderer whose sudden downfall was a prerequisite to Bill Clinton's political survival. But the terrorist strikes helped revive his career, lending him a veneer of respectability. In February, a profile in *The New York Times Magazine* declared that Hart's national-security commission had "essentially predicted the terrorist attacks on Sept. 11."

Hart's commission does deserve some credit: It warned of terrorism at a time when more people should have cared. But it's silly to say that Hart "essentially predicted" 9/11. "Americans will likely die on American soil, possibly in large numbers," because of "international terrorism," the commission warned. This would happen "over the next quarter century."

That doesn't exactly rate as a bold pronouncement. It's rather cautious—even hedging. It also doesn't square with something Hart wrote in his 1998 book *The Minuteman*: "Why do we have 1.5 million men and women under arms with no major threat to our security?" One reason, of course, is to have the strength to knock off the Taliban—or any other regime that harbors or aids terrorists.

Even now, Hart misunderstands the problem of terrorism. In a January speech, he actually laid the blame for 9/11 on missile defense rather than, say, Islamic radicalism. "While we poured enormous capital into national missile defense—trying to hit a bullet with a bullet—our enemies turned our own technology against us," he said. "Faith in technology handcuffed our imagination and lulled us to sleep." Hart seems to have forgotten that even its most fervent advocates have never viewed missile defense as a way to counter the likes of Osama bin Laden. It would be rather like saying increased airport security ought to protect Los Angeles from North Korean missiles.

Still, logic isn't really the point. At some level, Hart is still fighting the same old battles he fought with the Reagan administration. Moreover, like many liberals his age, Hart sees a lot of things through the lens of Vietnam—including this spring's war against Saddam Hussein. "It cost us 50,000 American lives in Vietnam to learn the lesson that the American people must not be misled, lied to, or treated as incompetent on military engagements," he said earlier this year at the Council on Foreign Relations. The public deserves "a candid statement by the commander in chief regarding the probable costs in human lives and national treasure of its commitment" in Iraq.

The Bush administration did release some cost estimates for the war, but the president himself never gave a figure for casualties. Gary Hart did, however. "There will be, maybe, five [thousand] to 10,000 American casualties," he declared in November. (There were, in fact, 132 American deaths, and 32 British ones.) He foresaw bloody fighting in the streets of Baghdad. "If you saw *Black Hawk Down*, this is what we're looking at," he said in February. "And Mogadishu is a village compared to Baghdad. So transpose *Black Hawk Down* to the streets of a city the size of Paris."

It's hard to predict whether Hart really will run for president. The possibility first arose last fall. In January, on the *Today* show, he promised a decision "by March," and started raising money. When March came around, however, he said he would need until April, because of the war. This was not implausible, and Hart was still sounding like a candidate. "I'm better prepared to be president than anyone in this race," he insisted. Then the war came to the successful conclusion Hart did not expect. Nevertheless, in Iowa on April 8, Hart indicated that his announcement was still just a few days away. But then, on April 10, he applied the brakes. "I think now we're going to wait a little," he said, as if the waiting hadn't been going on for some time.

It's possible Hart has learned a core truth of American politics: that people are more interested in politicians who are thinking about running for president than in those who have decided not to run. If so, in the months ahead, Gary Hart can be expected to keep on giving it an awful lot of thought. **NR**

■ **HEALTH POLICY**

Fighting AIDS Right

A couple of bumps, in Bush's grand plan

RAMESH PONNURU

In his State of the Union address, President Bush asked Congress "to commit $15 billion over the next five years . . . to turn the tide against AIDS in the most afflicted nations of Africa and the Caribbean." It was a dramatic moment, and not just because few in Washington had predicted that Bush would make AIDS a major topic of his speech. Bush was also proposing a sharp break with previous efforts against AIDS. But many of the biggest admirers of the president's new approach now fear that its promise is being lost in the legislative grinder.

The Bush administration wanted to adopt what has been called the "Uganda model." Instead of focusing exclusively on the encouragement of condom use, Uganda and a few other countries have emphasized abstinence and monogamy. As Rod Dreher has reported in these pages ("Death in Africa," Feb. 10), that approach has dramatically reduced the spread of the disease. Respected academics who are not themselves social conservatives believe that this success could be replicated in other afflicted countries. If so, it would be compassionate conservatism at its best.

Conservatives, especially social conservatives, applauded the president. Initially, their major worry about his plan was that it would give government funds to groups that perform or promote abortions. International family-planning funds are not allowed to go to such groups, thanks to an executive order issued by Bush. But other funds, such as funds to fight AIDS, are not so restricted. The Bush administration

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tried to allay these fears by stipulating that the AIDS funds would not be used for abortions. That was enough to get the leading pro-life group, the National Right to Life Committee, to hold its fire.

But social-conservative objections have grown as the president's proposal has taken legislative form. The bill that came out of the House International Relations Committee, which is scheduled to be debated on the House floor in early May, does not explicitly direct funds toward the promotion of abstinence and fidelity. Conservatives fear that without clear congressional guidance to that effect, the foreign-aid bureaucracy will just use the money on condoms. Michael Schwartz, a vice president of Concerned Women for America, a conservative group, says, "Anybody who thinks that there's any hope for the Uganda model under those circumstances is an extreme optimist."

Conservatives also think that the bill should direct more funds to treatment than to prevention. In his State of the Union address, Bush cited as one of his justifications for acting now that the cost of treatment had declined to the point where a global campaign was feasible. The president's focus on treatment made it possible for him to set measurable and achievable goals—such as treating "at least two million people with life-extending drugs." Conservatives also figure that treatment funds cannot easily be diverted to serve ideological or bureaucratic agendas, unlike money for prevention.

Another subject of dispute is how much money should go to the Global Fund to Combat AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria, a multilateral organization. Conservatives distrust it, not least because the governments of North Korea, Iran, Sudan, and Burma are scheduled to receive money from the organization. There are questions about the fund's efficiency; it's been slow in getting grant money out the door. Rep. Jim Kolbe, an Arizona Republican who supports the fund, requested a General Accounting Office study to clear up questions about it. But he's refusing to release the preliminary findings before the House votes. Not a good sign.

President Bush wanted Congress to give the Global Fund $200 million next year. The House bill authorizes up to $1 billion in funding next year. But the bill also says that the U.S. should provide no more than a third of the money for the fund at large, which would probably limit funding to roughly the amount the president wanted. (Bush, or some future president, would be allowed to waive the limit.)

Under Bush's proposal, the U.S. government—rather than any multilateral body—would direct most of our efforts against global AIDS. An "AIDS czar" in the State Department would coordinate these efforts. The House bill requires Senate confirmation for the job. Conservatives are split on the wisdom of this provision. Some think that it would raise the profile of the fight against AIDS, but others worry that Senate Democrats would block anyone committed to the Uganda model. A Republican Senate aide working on the bill is among the critics: "It makes sense in a hypothetical universe we don't live in"—one in which Democrats are reasonable.

Why has the bill turned out so disappointingly for conservatives? In the last Congress, Sens. Bill Frist and John Kerry had introduced a global-AIDS bill. After the president spoke, that bill formed the template for legislation—and it didn't incorporate his guidelines.

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In the House, the bill went through the International Relations Committee. Its chairman, conservative Republican Henry Hyde, wanted a bipartisan bill. That's something of a necessity at the committee, where Republicans' ostensible three-seat majority fails to hold sway because several Republicans—notably Jim Leach of Iowa and Amo Houghton of New York—regularly vote with the Democrats.

Conservatives had a few victories in committee. They amended the bill, over the unanimous opposition of committee Democrats, to block funds from going to groups that tacitly support prostitution. But on most issues, the conservatives lost. The defeat they took hardest concerned an amendment by Joe Pitts, a conservative from Pennsylvania. Pitts's "conscience clause" would have required that funding be allowed for groups that decline to distribute condoms. (The Roman Catholic Church provides care for more than a quarter of AIDS patients worldwide.) It failed by two votes, with three pro-amendment Republicans absent.

The committee ended up approving a bill that had the support of all of its Democrats. Eight conservative Republicans felt compelled to vote against it. Rep. Pitts was one of them. He says, "We need to ensure that the bill does not become a funding mechanism for the failed strategies of the Left."

The president's anti-AIDS plan has been in the legislative grinder since the State of the Union.

Republicans were sufficiently concerned about the bill that the chairman of another committee, Billy Tauzin, briefly tried to devise his own anti-AIDS bill before concluding that he lacked the jurisdiction to do so. An informal count suggests that around 60 House Republicans—including a member of the leadership—might vote against the bill.

If the bill can't be fixed in the House, conservatives hope that—for once—the Senate might come to their rescue. Although Frist took a back seat to Kerry when they introduced their bill together, now that he is majority leader he is taking a more active role. And he supports the Uganda model.

The Bush administration worked with conservatives as the bill made its way through Hyde's committee. It is telling conservatives in Congress that even if the bill does not require the adoption of the Uganda model, it will make sure that the new AIDS office adopts it. But the administration now appears more interested in getting a bill passed than in getting the best bill possible.

Tom Coburn, a former congressman and co-chairman of the President's Council on HIV/AIDS, thinks the bill needs major changes. Speaking for himself rather than for the council, he says, "I understand legislation is a compromise but I believe this doesn't accomplish the goals the president set out when he outlined this." At stake is whether Bush's new anti-AIDS initiative will truly turn the tide in Africa and the Caribbean—or be just another foreign-aid boondoggle. **NR**

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■ CHINA

Death Becomes Them

What SARS says about China, and us

THEODORE DALRYMPLE

THE French prime minister, M. Raffarin, has restored the reputation for courage of Frenchmen everywhere: He visited Peking at the height of the SARS epidemic, taking a personal risk that even warriors such as Messrs. Blair and Cheney declined to take, preferring to postpone their scheduled visits till healthier times. "This psychosis irritates me," said Raffarin before his departure; he wasn't letting a tiny virus get in the way of large orders for Airbus.

Not that the risk he was taking (and that Blair and Cheney were avoiding) was very great. As *Le Figaro* pointed out, he was staying only 30 hours, and would never leave his grand hotel except to go to a scaled-down banquet attended by a few high-ups. The Chinese took care to disinfect every inch of ground he traversed, even if that disinfecting more resembled a medieval warding-off of the plague by means of vinegar, herbs, and incense than it did a scientific medical procedure.

At the time of Raffarin's departure, 39 people had died in Peking, a city of 14 million inhabitants, of the 774 confirmed cases of SARS recorded there: not exactly an epidemic of Black Death proportions—if, that is, the Chinese figures are to be believed. Aye, there's the rub, as Hamlet would have said. For in

Dr. Dalrymple is a contributing editor of City Journal. His most recent book is Life at the Bottom: The Worldview That Makes the Underclass.

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the revelations of the Communist party's protracted and no doubt continuing lies about the extent of the epidemic, what dreams may have come of a more open and democratic China? Whether these dreams should give us pause remains to be seen. When strong but brittle structures break apart, they often shatter into dangerous splinters.

Perhaps the most historically significant thing about this epidemic will prove to be not the number of people who died in it, but that it forced the Chinese Communist party—which still rules a sixth of the world's population—publicly to admit for the first time that it is not infallible, that there is a truth independent of its own assertions and will, and that its trusted functionaries are capable of the most barefaced and self-interested lies. These are uncomfortable things for caesaropapist regimes such as China's to admit.

That it should have been an epidemic of relatively minor proportions that forced these admissions on the Party is also significant. As epidemics go, SARS is as yet pretty small beer. True, no one knows where and how it might end, but the fact that it seems at present to kill only 5 percent of those it affects, and that those 5 percent are mainly people already debilitated by other diseases, suggests that it will have practically no long-term demographic effect, even should it become much more widespread (and more contagious) than it is now. The average winter flu epidemic in Britain alone kills at least 16 times as many people as SARS has so far killed.

Moreover, it is not as if the Chinese Communist party had no other skeletons in its cupboard, public revelations about which would tend to damage its claims to intellectual infallibility and moral legitimacy, even in the minds of its most ardent supporters. Indeed, just as the epidemic itself is (so far) a rather minor one, so the cover-up about it has been rather minor, by comparison with other cover-ups for which the Party has—understandably, given its terrible history—been responsible. After all, the famine that followed the Great Leap Forward was probably the worst in all of human history, and the orgy of cultural vandalism during the Cultural Revolution was the equal of anything achieved by Lenin and Hitler. Any party or government that claimed to be in apostolic succession to Mao Tse-tung must, by that very fact alone, be utterly lacking in moral scruple: so that it is straining at a gnat after swallowing a positive caravan of camels to complain now of Peking's lack of candor about the small matter of SARS. Even democratic governments have managed bigger lies in their time: Have we forgotten that Ibsen wrote a play on the very subject of the denial of an epidemic for political and economic reasons not very far removed from those in the present situation?

So why all the fuss now, and what does it signify? In the first place, there has clearly been a change in the sensibility of the Chinese themselves. After a couple of decades of frantic economic growth, probably unequalled in the annals of history, the Chinese—at any rate, those Chinese who count: a minority no doubt, but nevertheless a very large number—are no longer content to be, nor can be cowed into being, blue-clad workers in a hive, expected to place no special value on their own individual lives. Growing consumerism has taught them that what they want counts, and that therefore their existence is of more importance than was dreamed of in Mao's philosophy (and practice). No longer units in an army of forced labor, and moreover increasingly in possession of the means to exchange information—and misinformation, and rumor—that the government can no longer control, they are now given to panic when their individual existence seems to be threatened. Peking has been turned into a ghost city by a mere 39 deaths (let us multiply and call it 390), when only a few years ago a million deaths would have made as little impact on it as a stone on a pond.

Peking has been turned into a ghost city by a mere 39 deaths, when only a few years ago a million deaths would have made as little impact on it as a stone on a pond.

Second, there is now an international dimension to the question that once would not have counted for much as far as China was concerned. China, though still culturally and socially less accessible than nearly any other country in the world, nevertheless is no longer hermetically sealed. It is not an autarky: It now needs the rest of the world, and the world's good opinion, so that its economic progress might be maintained. The Chinese regime realizes that it cannot prevent genuine information as well as rumor from seeping out, and therefore the old methods of more or less blanket denial and straightforward lying—"There have been only 39 cases in Peking and they all came from other provinces"—will no longer serve. An appearance of increased openness, if not the thing itself, is therefore necessary, hence the sacrifice of the mayor of Peking and the minister of health. If a government dismisses liars, surely it must be attached to the truth? Along with the government's new openness, however, comes an increased willingness to take drastic authoritarian measures to try to contain the epidemic, whether those measures are scientifically justified or not.

The episode casts a certain light on us, too. For the fact is that we have demonstrated ourselves to be vastly more concerned about a minuscule statistical risk to our own health than we would be about any political outrage in China, whatever its scale. We don't really care what the Chinese do to each other, as long as they don't give us potentially fatal diseases. Genocide in Tibet would harm their trade and foreign investment far less than 21 deaths in Toronto. This is a timely reminder, in case we needed one, that foreign policy is about interests far more than it is about principles: Try as we might, we are always more anxious about ourselves than we can ever be about others.

Still, our panic is not very edifying to behold. It is the panic of people unfamiliar with death, who believe that death is for others but not for ourselves. **NR**

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■ COVER STORY

AN ARMY OF JESSICAS

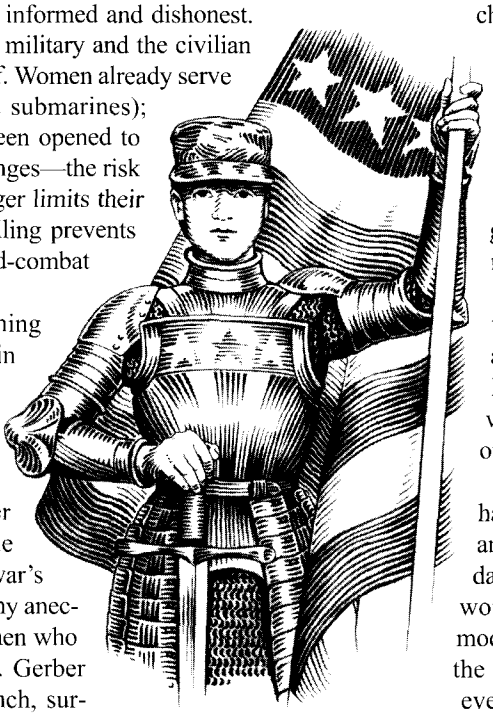
About women in combat: Let's fight. Hard.

BY KATE O'BEIRNE

ACCORDING to much post-war commentary, the Iraqi Republican Guard wasn't the only force decisively routed during Operation Iraqi Freedom: From coast to coast, editorial writers declare that the experiences of American military women in Iraq have defeated once and for all the critics of women in combat. The editorialists' battle flag is emblazoned with the image of Pfc. Jessica Lynch, the 19-year-old Army supply clerk who was rescued by a Special Ops team after ten days as a POW. In *USA Today*, a commentator argued that Pfc. Lynch's ordeal alone proves "the time is right to blast through the armored ceiling that keeps women second-class citizens in the military." An *Orlando Sentinel* columnist sees her as conclusive evidence that "women can be as fierce as men."

These commentaries are generally ill informed and dishonest. They ignore the realities of our modern military and the civilian workforce, as well as human nature itself. Women already serve on combat aircraft and ships (but not submarines); many combat-support positions have been opened to women, and—owing to Clinton-era changes—the risk of close contact with the enemy no longer limits their assignments. The so-called armored ceiling prevents women only from serving in direct land-combat positions and special-forces units.

But advocates chafe at these remaining limits, and they are not above engaging in sleight-of-hand—minimizing the feats of men and exaggerating those of women. In *USA Today*, Robin Gerber, author of *Leadership the Eleanor Roosevelt Way*, said Lynch proved her "sex's capacity for steely heroism"; while Lynch's gruesome ordeal as a victim of war's brutality is celebrated as an Audie Murphy anecdote, the unambiguous heroism of the men who rescued her goes largely unmentioned. Gerber credits a dramatic account of how Lynch, surrounded by enemy forces, "decided to fight to the death." This report first appeared in an April 3 *Washington Post* story that had its credibility questioned by the paper's ombudsman on April 20. Because there has been no confirmation of the original *Post* account—which was provided by an "unnamed official" based on "battlefield intelligence," including Iraqi sources whose reliability hasn't been assessed—the ombudsman concluded that "what really happened is still not clear." What is clear is that whatever the facts are surrounding Lynch's capture and detention, they will not be permitted to get in the way of her use as a symbol of women's fitness for the battlefield.



ROBERT VAN NUTT

'Astoundingly modern weapon'?

The successful integration of combat demands that men and women be treated exactly alike in the face of physical threats—but it was actually Lynch's particular vulnerability that prompted a chivalrous response from the Iraqi lawyer who was moved to help when he saw her being slapped by one of her captors. "Don't worry," Mohammed whispered to Lynch, before he walked six miles to find a U.S. Marine patrol to alert. We can all be grateful that Mohammed hadn't been trained in current notions of gender equality in the modern military, where male chivalry is seen as a risk to national security. At the military's survival, evasion, resistance, and escape (SERE) schools, concern about the well-being of women was so prevalent among male students that trainers now work to desensitize men to sexual assault and other enemy abuse of women.

Nicholas D. Kristof of the *New York Times* has no need for such professional training: He argues that women should be exposed to mortal danger so that men can be protected. Military women are, he wrote, "the most astoundingly modern weapon in the Western arsenal" because the Muslim world's "notions of chivalry make even the most bloodthirsty fighters squeamish about shooting female soldiers." Kristof sees

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women's skirts as an indispensable male accessory on the battlefield: He recounts that he asked a woman to share the front seat with him when he drove down a perilous road, on his theory that a sniper would hesitate to take a shot. Unfortunately, Kristof's theory failed one real-world test in the case of Pfc. Lori Piestewa, mother of two young children, who was found on the night of her comrade's rescue—buried in a shallow grave along with eight other soldiers from the 507th Maintenance unit.

EXPLOITED WOMEN

The public's aversion to violence against women explains its mixed feelings in the welcomed rescue of Jessica Lynch. What had she been made to endure, and should she have been allowed to wind up in that spot? But none of these mixed feelings were on display in the media's celebratory coverage. An Iraqi source gave a tip about Lynch's plight to an NBC reporter, and said Lynch had been tortured; the *New York Post* recounted this tip, leaving out any reference to torture. Snapshots of sanitized, yellow-ribbon moments reassure the public—and hide the reality of violence against America's daughters and young mothers.

Before Jessica Lynch, there was the unwitting Capt. Linda Bray, who ably led a military-police unit during the Panama war. In securing a Panamanian Defense Forces dog kennel, Bray's soldiers came under sniper fire, but captured the kennel with no American casualties, and an enemy body count of six dead dogs. It took White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater calling the assault "an important military operation" and the *Detroit News* proclaiming her actions "worthy of a young Douglas MacArthur or George Patton" for the military to realize that its desire for favorable publicity had gotten out of hand.

Overplaying women's exploits permits proponents of gender-integrated combat to discount the masculine traits that the history of warfare shows to be vital to military success. In an article for the *Buffalo Law Review*, Wayne State law professor Kingsley R. Browne examines the historic link between masculinity and warfare. "Be a man" was the core value by which combat soldiers judged each other, according to Samuel Stouffer's classic study of soldiers in World War II; as Browne notes, Northwestern professor Charles Moskos—America's leading military sociologist—explains that one of the few ways to get men in combat to behave so irrationally as to risk getting killed is to appeal to their masculinity. A study of the Spanish Civil War found that the greatest fear of men facing combat for the first time was that they would turn out to be cowards. Historian S. L. A. Marshall found that a man in combat will overcome his fear and do what's required because he risks losing "the one thing that he is likely to value more highly than life—his reputation as a man among other men." Browne concludes: "If the need to prove one's manliness is an essential motivator of combat personnel, what motivates women?"

These fundamental differences in the nature of men and women can't be wished away. They are the chief reason women have a

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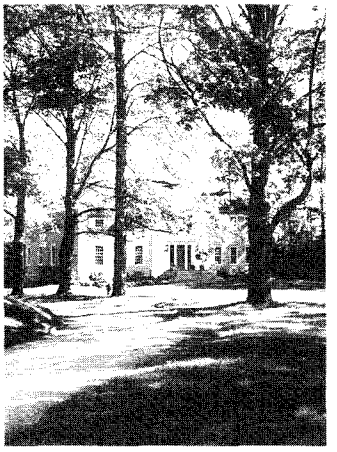

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clear preference for jobs that are safe: In 1995, the ten occupations with the highest risk of death—ranging from fisherman or logger to roofer or truck driver—were less than 10 percent female, with most less than 5 percent. But women now make up 15 percent of the military, and surveys indicate that only about 10 percent of them are interested in serving in combat. This tallies with social science, which reports that males take risks even when it's a bad idea to do so, while females are disinclined to take a risk even when it's a good idea.

The heroes of 9/11 provided a rare opportunity to celebrate the masculine traits that drove those firemen—not "firefighters"—into the burning towers to do the dangerous, demanding, dirty work of men. "These are the men who will fight our wars," President Bush declared when he visited the recovery scene in lower Manhattan. There are only 36 women among the 11,000-member force of New York's Bravest. With the risks firemen face so obvious, and the prospect that even *New York Times* columnists might have to count on their reckless bravery, there have been no outraged questions about why there wasn't an appropriate gender ratio among the 343 dead heroes.

A FAKE EQUALITY

Although proponents of combat integration assert that they want to see women meet the same physical standards as men in the military, the armed forces—under pressure to integrate the ranks—have modified their training. For example, since it was integrated, West Point has developed a formula of "equivalent effort" that has male cadets obliged to complete an obstacle course in 3:20 minutes, while female cadets are allotted 5:30. Men receive the same grade for doing 72 push-ups in two minutes as women do for performing 48. Scores on fitness tests throughout the military are now similarly "gender-normed." The physical qualifications for specific jobs have also had to be changed to accommodate the lesser physical strength of women. A 1985 Navy study found that large majorities of women were unable to perform any of the eight critical shipboard tasks that virtually all men could handle. To help keep things shipshape on the gender front, the job of stretcher carrier in the Navy, once a two-man job, was redefined as a four-person task.

In her 2000 book, *The Kinder, Gentler Military*, Stephanie Gutmann recounted how the harsh demands of basic training have been largely eliminated to make the experience more female-friendly. With basic training now gender-integrated in all the services except the Marines, the emphasis is increasingly on self-esteem and positive motivation. Recruits are shown videos that reassure them that "anybody can get through boot camp" and that it's "O.K. to cry." A commission appointed by defense secretary William Cohen, chaired by former senator Nancy Kassebaum Baker, concluded that basic training should be separate because integrated training resulted in "less discipline, less unit cohesion, and more distraction from training programs."

And there are considerations just as important—indeed, that strike closer to home—than military readiness. When an unprecedented number of women—including single mothers and dual military couples—were deployed to Desert Storm in 1991, a bill was introduced in Congress to prohibit the deployment of parents whose children risked being orphaned. An AP poll at the time found that 64 percent of the public agreed that it was "unacceptable for the United States to send women with young children to the war zone." The war ended before Congress acted, but the public was clearly concerned about the unequal sacrifice faced by the 80,000 children with a single parent, or both parents, in the service. Single custodial parents in the military are disproportionately female, and the public clearly saw a distinction between the sacrifices of mothers and the sacrifices of fathers. Someone must fight our wars, so fathers will inevitably be at risk; but must young mothers be exposed to such danger?

Although single custodial parents are not eligible to enlist, once they are in uniform generous subsidies and accommodating assignment policies can encourage single parenthood. In *Ground Zero: The Gender Wars in the Military* (1997), feminist author Linda Bird Francke approvingly noted that the military's family benefits make the services "a particular mecca for single parents." In 1989, the Navy had twice as many single parents, proportionately, as the civilian population. Although one study found that the re-enlistment rate for women dropped by 69 percent once they became mothers, for many vulnerable single mothers the military provides a tempting safety net of benefits, including health care and housing.

In the military's gender wars, honesty has been the first casualty.

The proponents' last-ditch argument is that if women want to serve in combat, it's discriminatory to deny them; it's like the rank discrimination that once segregated blacks in the armed services. But there were no biological differences to justify the unequal treatment of black soldiers. As Kingsley Browne points out, the exclusion of women is more parallel to the exclusion of older people from active service, based not on prejudice, but on group generalizations resting on biological fact: Even the most fit 35-year-old man is not eligible for enlistment. The "equal opportunity" argument winds up being a call for special treatment. Women can't be expected to meet the same physical qualifications as men, and the advocates want military women to be assigned to combat only by their own choice.

Even in today's volunteer force, men in noncombat positions are frequently involuntarily assigned to combat, and women would have to face the same possibility. Charles Moskos explains: "To allow both sexes to choose whether or not to go into combat would be the end of an effective military force. Honesty requires that supporters of lifting the ban on women in combat state openly that they want to put all female soldiers at the same combat risk as all male soldiers—or that they don't."

But in the military's gender wars, honesty has been the first casualty. **NR**

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■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Reluctant Empire

The U.S. leads the world—but doesn't have to rule it

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

Is America an empire? This simple question elicits astonishingly passionate answers. Those who argue that the Pax Americana is effectively an imperium generally do so in a somewhat shamefaced way. They are quick to point out that it is a very different empire from European empires of the 19th century—for example, it has no colonies (apart from a handful of islands in the South Pacific). This makes it, in the current euphemism, "an empire of freedom." On the other hand, those who deny that America is an empire make exactly the same point: How *can* America be an empire, if it has no colonies? In this view, what the U.S. has constructed is a set of alliances and trade agreements that link America with other countries by trade, migration, investment, and diplomacy. To call these mutually beneficial and acceptable arrangements an empire, however "informal," is simply a misuse of language.

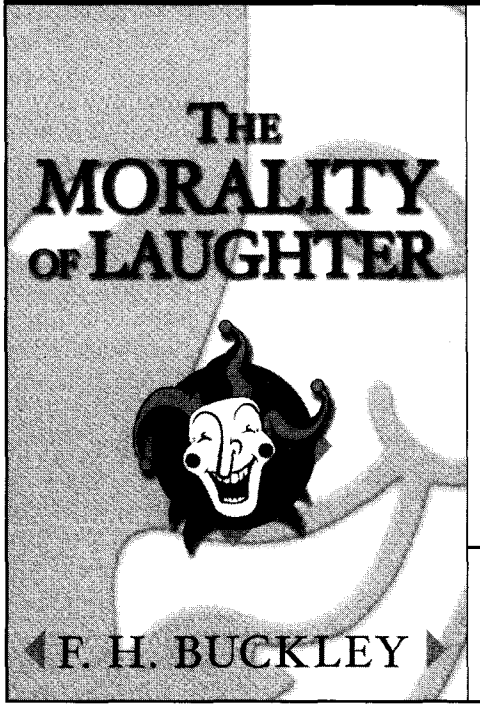
One can argue around these points indefinitely. If the U.S. has no colonies, what exactly are Indian reservations? Americans have been able to convince themselves that they were good anti-imperialists because they had swallowed (or found convenient) the "blue-water fallacy" that ignored imperial conquest and occupation over land, reserving the terms "imperialism" and "colonialism" for overseas possessions. Thus, the Philippines were a colony and the U.S. got rid of it pretty smartly, but Arizona and New Mexico are states, and therefore a permanent part of the Union unless Mexican immigration and the Reconquista movement change local sentiments. (That seems highly unlikely, but it is largely how the U.S. acquired Texas.)

But these are debating points. The more important point is that imperialism is an abstraction and that actual empires differ greatly. The Belgian Congo was a vile political exploitation akin to mass slavery or the work camps of 20th-century totalitarianisms. The British Empire, despite its flaws, was generally an improvement on what had gone before. Not a single territory taken and ruled by the British had been a democracy beforehand; furthermore, as the Empire expanded, slavery contracted.

Since empires differ, if we are to judge their worth, we must ask such questions as: Do the imperialists aim at the eventual independence of their subject peoples—or regard them as permanent possessions? Do they treat their colonies economically as targets of mercantilist exploitation—or do they seek to develop them economically via free trade and inward investment? Do they gradually introduce mechanisms for self-government, permit rule by traditional local structures, and respect local customs—or do they impose entirely alien rule?

As Niall Ferguson points out in his recent book, *Empire*, the British succeeded in bringing people into the modern world and world market—he calls the Empire "Anglobalization"—because they educated their subject peoples as much as ruled them. Broadly speaking, they neither imposed modernity on native peoples nor sought to keep them in a primitive or backward state. What they did was open up their societies to the outside world, to trade, to new ideas and techniques, to new

"Bravo! I'll say nothing funny about it, for it is a superior piece of work."
—P. J. O'ROURKE



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economic opportunities, and eventually to development and a gradual embrace of modernity. These changes exposed the contradiction at the heart of a liberal empire—or "empire of freedom"—namely, that as the imperial subjects become educated, they wish to enjoy full political rights. So the empire must either democratize or die. The British wrestled with this problem at the beginning of the 20th century, when Joseph Chamberlain proposed to turn the Empire into a single economy that could eventually become an imperial federation. But the demographic logic of this was that India would end up ruling England—and 100 years ago that was not really thinkable. As a result, the British Empire gradually dissolved itself, mainly peacefully, into a series of independent states loosely linked in a Commonwealth that is a fraternal international association rather than a directly political one.

In seeing the U.S. as the necessary successor to Britain in the role of imperial banker and policeman for a revived world trading system, Niall Ferguson is not alone. In his recent book, *American Empire*, Andrew Bacevich sees such an empire as regrettable but probably unavoidable. He argues that the U.S. has consistently pursued a policy of commercial imperialism throughout its modern history. Though it has not sought to acquire territory and rule it formally, Washington has striven to open markets throughout the world for its goods. Occasionally this opening of markets has required force, as in the case of Commodore Perry; but for the last hundred years it has been furthered through diplomacy and the spread of international institutions, such as the World Trade Organization and the World Bank, which seek to draw all nations into a system of free trade.

The U.S. is militarily stronger than any previous power. It also has a greater share of the world's productive capacity. But these do not necessarily make the U.S. an imperialist power.

An American empire—supposing one to exist—would probably resemble the British one more than any other. In the first place, the political ideas animating it would be shaped by essentially the same liberal political culture. Secondly, as an island continent, America has the same immunity from sudden invasion as Britain enjoyed because of the English Channel. It therefore enjoys the consequences of this immunity: a secure home base from which to expand via the sea and a strong navy, and a moralizing puritan tradition in foreign policy. And, thirdly, the impetus for imperial expansion is the same in both cases—namely, trade.

THE NEW VICTORIANS?

It was Palmerston, the fire-breathing liberal imperialist of the mid-19th century, who articulated the case for an American empire when he issued the following prescription for the British: "Trade without the flag where possible; trade with the flag where necessary." Palmerston in the Opium War and Commodore Perry in Japan both used naval power to force the opening of markets to trade and their exports. Neither wanted to occupy and formally rule either China or Japan; they would have regarded such an imperialist venture as expensive, unnecessary, and likely to stretch their local power to its breaking point. Empire consisted instead of a series of ad hoc arrangements: colonies like Australia founded by British settlers; territories conquered and administered by the Crown, such as Ghana; coaling-stations like Aden, acquired to enable the Royal Navy to protect the sea lanes; and so on. Some of these were the work of local adventurers and entrepreneurs, who seized territory that the Colonial Office would have much preferred not to acquire. But the main imperial structure was formed by trade, and by the need to protect trade from threats as various as pirates and local wars.

It is when very substantial threats to this commercial order present themselves that the imperial nature of modern America is said to be revealed. Afghanistan and Iraq did, indeed, look like Victorian imperial wars: The Afghan intervention was a punitive raid in response to the Taliban's sheltering of al-Qaeda, and the Iraq liberation was a pre-emptive removal of a threat to a region whose stability is vital to trade, the international community, and the U.S. In both cases, it is said, the U.S. acted like an imperial power to protect the general interest, but without the consent of bodies like the U.N.

But just how much like previous empires is the American informal empire? The U.S. is, of course, militarily stronger than any previous power, whether imperial or national. It also has a greater share of the world's productive capacity than any previous "hegemon." And its dominance in everything from technology to popular culture dwarfs the combined efforts of most other major nations. All these forms of superiority would enable it to get its way in most matters if it were determined to do so. But they do not necessarily make the U.S. an imperialist power—merely a dominant one. Nor are America's major allies, such as Britain and France, subordinate to its policies in anything like an imperial sense, though they may naturally choose to support the U.S. for their own interests. The U.S. can't even impose the commercial free-trade orthodoxy of the "Washington consensus" on countries in economic difficulties, unless the countries' own finance ministers judge that they have more to gain from the IMF's loans than from following a protectionist course. Malaysia's leader demonstrated this by rejecting the IMF's orthodox medicine and following his own unorthodox one. (He has done better than expected.) Nor, finally, does the U.S. have any colonies—except for the aforementioned handful of South Pacific islands, and now Iraq.

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AVOIDING EMPIRE

America acts in an imperial way, it seems, in a very limited set of circumstances. Or, to put it another way, a commercial empire is not the same kind of empire as the French, Dutch, Portuguese, or Spanish empires. It has no interest in ruling its "subject" peoples; it merely wants to trade with them. Where some nations threaten either their neighbors or the sea lanes or both, the U.S. uses military force to restore order and stability. And in those few instances when, like the British Empire, it acquires territory as a result of these interventions, as today in Iraq, its instinct is to leave as quickly as possible. This instinct is at war with the one genuinely imperialist instinct that does inspire (or perhaps distort) U.S. policy: Just as the British saw their role as to bring native peoples into the modern world via trade and commerce, so America hopes to create deep foundations for international stability and commercial peace by encouraging other nations to adopt its own liberal democracy as their form of government (or at the very least to cease torturing political opponents). In Iraq it will have the opportunity both to establish democracy more straightforwardly than is usually possible, and also to run up against the difficulties attendant on this course. Outside the special circumstances of Iraq, the U.S. seeks to encourage the spread of democracy via international organizations, its own aid policies, and certain non-governmental organizations.

This is the imperialism that dare not speak its name—and an imperialism that Niall Ferguson thinks will simply not be up to the job. If the U.N. and most of the world's NGOs continue as they are today, he is certainly right. When the "internationals" descend on some poor benighted backwater like Bosnia, they bring not settled government and security but the latest left-wing fads and the bureaucrats' high style of living on expense accounts. If America wants to avoid becoming an imperial power, it must reform the international institutions to which at present it delegates the difficult imperial tasks of establishing good government and generally improving the lives of people in its unofficial dependencies. If it fails to do that, then it will have to become more imperialist than the debate about the American empire suggests it wants to be. **NR**

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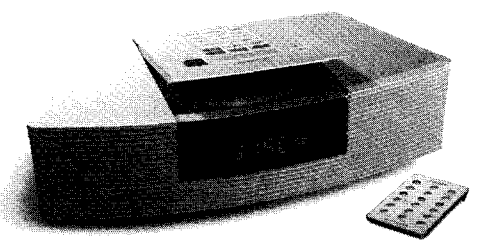

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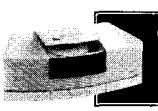

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But will, with tax cuts slashed (or worse),
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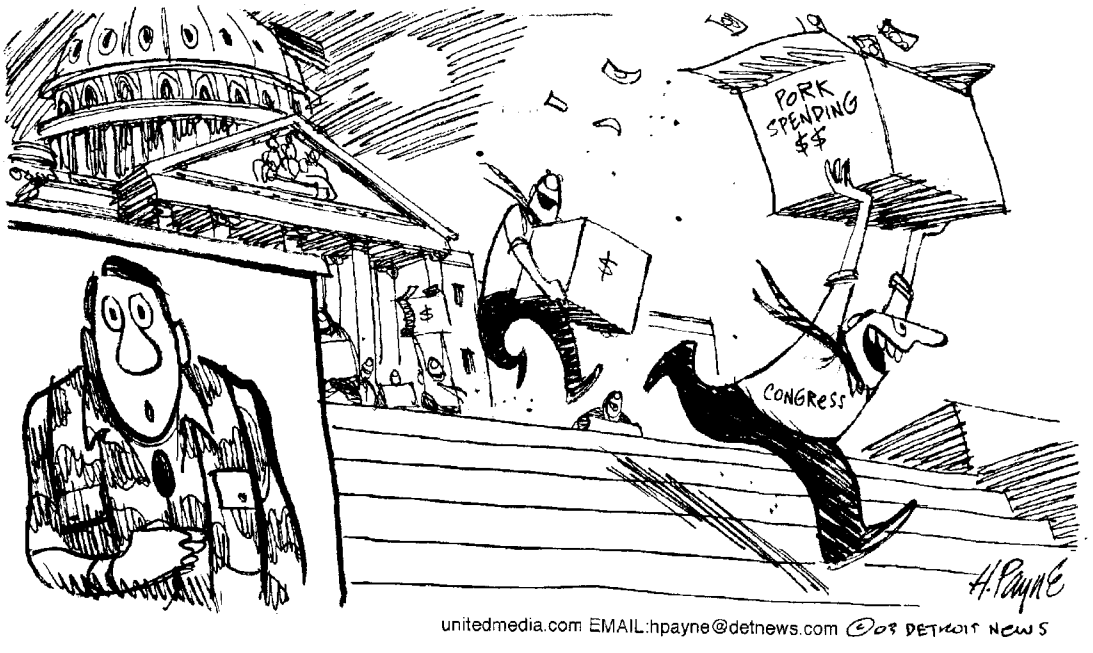
—W. H. von Dreele



"RAMPANT LOOTING CONTINUES HERE IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL!"

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the long view

ROB LONG

Official Transcript
The Dr. Phil Show
August 23, 2003

[theme music]
[applause]
DR. PHIL: "Thanks very much. Today we have on the show two guys who just can't get along, but who need to get along. Let's get into this. Sir, would you like to tell us who you are and a little bit about yourself?"
JACQUES CHIRAC: "I am Jacques Chirac and I am Président de la République."
DR. PHIL: "Uh huh."
CHIRAC: "Of France?"
DR. PHIL: "Uh huh."
CHIRAC: "Why are you only saying 'uh huh'? It is an important job, the president of France has."
DR. PHIL: "We like ourselves, don't we, Jack?"
CHIRAC: "Pardon?"
DR. PHIL: "And with us here is my fellow Texan, President George W. Bush. How are you, Mr. President?"
GEORGE W. BUSH: "Doin' okay."
DR. PHIL: "Now we're gonna roll some tape in a moment, to give our viewers a background for the kind of conflict you two guys are enmeshed in right now, to maybe see how we can get some of that good feeling back. Can we go to the tape?"
BUSH: "How long is the tape, there, bud? Got about six minutes, then it's wheels up. Two stops today—opening a U.S.-Israeli Friendship Center in Florida then jetting up to Dearborn for a U.S.-Iraqi Friendship Center opening. Or is it the other way around? Wait a sec . . ."
CHIRAC: "You see here, Monsieur Docteur Phil, the problem. Always rush-rush! Rush the inspectors. Rush the U.N."
DR. PHIL: "Why are you talking to me?"
CHIRAC: "What?"
DR. PHIL: "Why are you talking to me? Is your problem with me?"
CHIRAC: "No."
DR. PHIL: "Who is your problem with?"
CHIRAC: "It is with him."
DR. PHIL: "Does he have a name?"
CHIRAC: "Yes."
DR. PHIL: "You see, the first thing we've got to get over is what I call the 'me-I-him' problem. You're the 'I,' you're the 'me,' and he's just a 'him.' Do you see what I'm saying?"
CHIRAC: "You speak very quickly, Monsieur le Docteur."
DR. PHIL: "Look at him. Face him. All the way. Now look him in the eye."
CHIRAC: "I do not wish to."
DR. PHIL: "Don't look at me. Look at him."
CHIRAC: "He looks angry."
DR. PHIL: "I don't think he's angry."
CHIRAC: "He is—how you say?—scowling. With a mean face. You see, he does not want this to be over. I try and I try and—"
DR. PHIL: "Hold up, Jack. You're futurizing. Stay here now. Stay in this moment in time. I'm sure he's not angry, are you, Mr. President? Mr. President? Mr. President?"
BUSH: "Hmmmm?"
DR. PHIL: "Mr. President, what are you doing?"
BUSH: "Havin' a Power Bar and thinking about Kim Jong Il."
DR. PHIL: "Can you try to be present here, please?"
BUSH: "Can we pick up the pace, then? I'm doin' this for Tony Blair, okay? But I've got, like, four minutes—no, make that three minutes."
DR. PHIL: "Jack, look at George."
CHIRAC: "I am."
DR. PHIL: "In the eye."

CHIRAC: "Yes, all right."
DR. PHIL: "What do you want to tell him?"
CHIRAC: "That I think we two should be—"
DR. PHIL: "You're talking to me. Talk to him. To him. Say 'George . . .'"
CHIRAC: "Georges . . ."
DR. PHIL: "I am so very sorry . . ."
CHIRAC: "I am so very sorry . . ."
DR. PHIL: ". . . to have betrayed you and lied to you and helped the Iraqis and everything."
CHIRAC: ". . . to have betrayed you and lied to you and helped the Iraqis and everything."
DR. PHIL: "And I promise . . ."
CHIRAC: "And I promise . . ."
DR. PHIL: ". . . to be a better friend in the future."
CHIRAC: ". . . to be a better friend in the future."
[applause]
DR. PHIL: "How do you feel?"
CHIRAC: "Like a woman."
DR. PHIL: "Good! Good! That's a big start."
CHIRAC: "Now him."
DR. PHIL: "Mr. President, I want you to look at Jack. I want you to face him. And I want you to tell him how you feel."
BUSH: "He knows how I feel."
CHIRAC: "You see? You see what I must put up with?"
DR. PHIL: "Take his hand, Mr. President."
BUSH: "You've got to be kidding. Are you sure you're from Texas?"
DR. PHIL: "Take his hand and say, 'Jack, I know that you had reasons for what you did, but you hurt me and you broke the trust between us, and it's going to take time to get us back where we were, but I'm willing to take the first step today, here, right now.'"
CHIRAC: "Where is he going?"
DR. PHIL: "Mr. President?"
BUSH: "Really tight schedule, sorry. Nice to see y'all!"
[applause]

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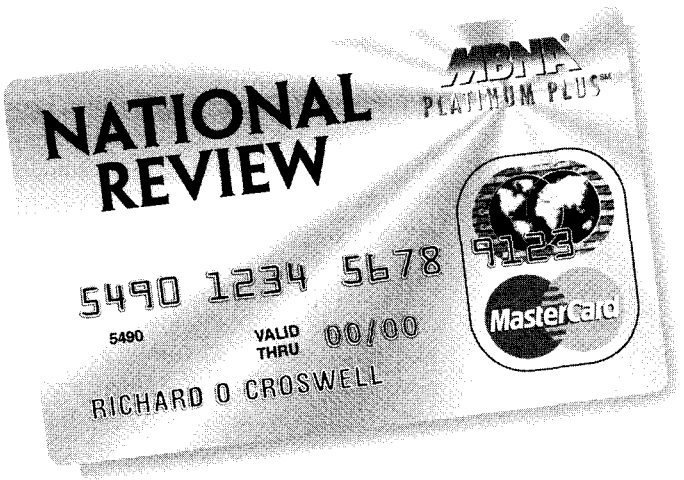

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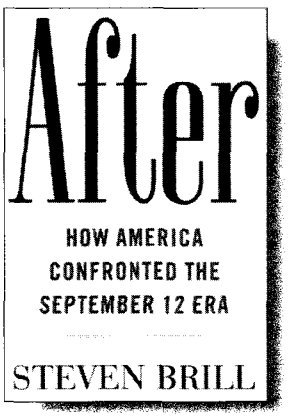

After: How America Confronted the September 12 Era, by Steven Brill (Simon & Schuster, 723 pp., $29.95)

JAY NORDLINGER

Steven Brill is not the conservative's favorite journalist. Most infamously, he did a smear job on Ken Starr, back in 1998. But he is undeniably a major journalist of our time. He founded *The American Lawyer*, and Court TV, and *Brill's Content* (the now-defunct magazine in which his Starr attack appeared). Currently he writes for *Newsweek* and "analyzes" for NBC.

But most important, he has written this amazing book with the simple title: *After*. This is the book that tells the story of how America "confronted the September 12 era," as he puts it. Brill paints a vast and detailed portrait of Americans—from the president on down—at work in the new age. His conclusion: This country—including its Republican leadership—has conducted itself admirably well, given the circumstances.

Brill's book has caused some disquiet among his liberal peers, according to The Drudge Report (not Brill's favorite news source, you can be sure). The book is immensely understanding of the administration, and it even strains to sympathize with John Ashcroft, the blackest of the Left's bêtes noires. Brill seems a man deeply affected by 9/11. More than a few liberals were "mugged" by that day.

What Brill set out to do was take the lives of various people and follow them daily, for about a year. Sections are actually marked by dates, diary style. At the beginning of the book, Brill gives his cast of characters—literally. He has a list of "main characters"—from Ashcroft to Edmund Woollen, a vice president of Raytheon—and a list of "other key figures," who range from the White House chief of staff to a Turkish American in New Jersey, who was humiliated at the hands of FBI questioners.

The author put his heart and soul into this work. He conducted hundreds of interviews and slogged through piles of documents. His ambition, he says, was "to convey the full array of challenges America faced" post–9/11 while providing "a coherent narrative." This, he has done.

Perhaps the author is one of those liberals 'mugged' by September 11.

We begin, not with 9/12, but with 9/11. Where were you? What were *you* doing? Tom Ridge was visiting his mother in the hospital; before long, he would be head of something called the Department of Homeland Security. Sen. Charles Schumer, Democrat of New York, was in Washington; his wife, Iris Weinshall, transportation commissioner of New York City, was at her desk in City Hall. Their daughter, Jessica, was at Stuyvesant High, in the shadow of the World Trade Center.

Now get this: After the South Tower fell, Jessica's parents got on the phone with each other, and her mother "took out a street map and counted the blocks from the North Tower to Stuyvesant, which was about four blocks from the Trade Center. [Weinshall and Schumer] now tried to calculate how tall the Trade Center tower was, what the length of an average block was, and, therefore, whether it would hit Stuyvesant if it fell over."

The book is full of eye-popping, hard-to-forget details like that.

Life had been rather different until then. Would you like to hear something quaint? Until 9/11, Customs inspectors in Pembina, N.D., on the Canadian border, went home at 10 every night. They put an orange traffic cone in the middle of the road, along with a note asking people to return for an inspection the next morning. An orange cone.

On September 11 itself, the woman in charge up in Pembina—Mary Delaquis—made a vow: "Whatever the next threat is, it is not coming through me." This was mere bravado, but it bespoke the determination of many Americans. Day by day, Brill walks us through the lives of his cast members. Sergio Magistri, head of InVision Technologies, had screening equipment to sell. Larry Cox had to figure out how to keep the airport he ran, in Memphis, open. Sal Iacono, owner of a little Wall Street shoe-repair shop, wondered what he would do with himself. Bernadine Healy had to cope with a tremendous inrush of money at the Red Cross. She did her best: but her board would give her the shaft.

The ACLU? Its executive director, Anthony Romero, is a major character here. On 9/11, he convened "what became an almost all-day rump session of his top staff . . . 'We did a list of what we thought they would try to do,' he remembers, referring not to the terrorists but to the government."

Brill captures the hurly-burly of those first days, when everyone was working by the seat of his pants. He has great sympathy for people who made mistakes, in their zeal, fear, or confusion. A million

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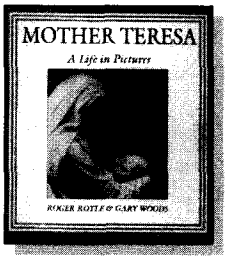

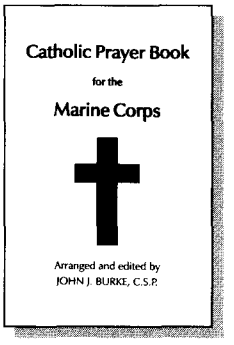

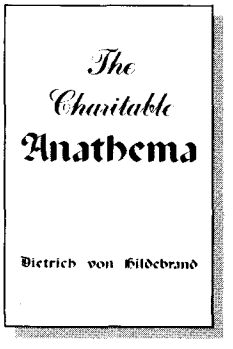

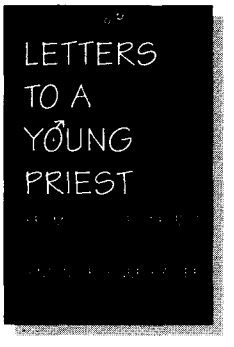

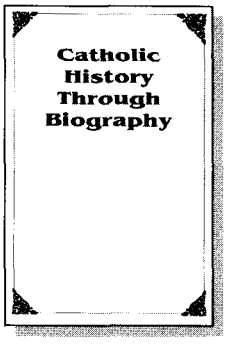

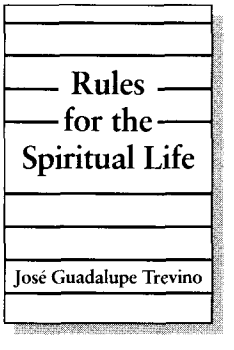

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practical questions had to be decided, and quickly: airport security; treatment of those arrested; policy at Ground Zero. The Bush administration—and, in particular, Tom Ridge—had to devise a system of alerts: Do you risk panicking the public by issuing vague warnings, or do you risk insulting and endangering them by keeping mum? Brill knows too much to be judgmental.

The book has "soft" aspects as well as "hard." We follow a "9/11 family," for example: a widow and her three children. The details cannot be more human, more real: How long, for instance, do you wait before removing your husband's voice from the answering machine that greets callers?

It must be said, however, that the money scrambling of some of the families is shocking: and also very human. Brill goes through the apportionment painstakingly. It is not always a pretty picture. Do you know that the average payout to a New York fireman's widow was $6 million? As Brill remarked in a recent interview, that "raises a lot of questions. For example, a fireman who ran into a burning building the next day . . . would have been entitled to a death benefit of about $250,000—period." Fraud had its place, too, with phony claimants walking away with wads, and laughing.

Obviously, Steven Brill has favorites here, and non-favorites. Those who gave him access seem to have been rewarded; those who did not . . . were not. Tom Ridge is a white hat, and he deserves to be. But Tom DeLay—who did not cooperate with Brill—is a caricature. Really, Brill ought to be embarrassed: His DeLay does everything but twirl a mustache. And Brill picks at Ashcroft's every sore. He comes close to calling the AG dumb, and a religious kook. He does not demonize him in ACLU fashion—as I said, he strains to give Ashcroft his due—but he does not resist some cheap shots.

His portrayal of Sen. Schumer is almost celebratory, for he is the character who most reflects Brill's own thought. He quotes "the Schu" as saying, "We have to recalibrate many aspects of our society to make our own physical security higher in our value system." At one point, Schumer feels the need to "find an issue where he [can] get back on the liberal side of things" concerning law enforcement. Brill, too, looks for opportunities to "get back on the liberal side." But he is unclouded about the burden of homeland security.

Annoyingly, Brill is one of those liberals who fancy that conservatives got their comeuppance after 9/11: *See, government—and big and robust government—is needed after all!* This is one of the great false talking points of the period. Conservatives have always maintained that the chief function of the federal government is the physical security of the nation. In fact, they—we—have often stood alone in that. National security is what Washington is for, primarily: not midnight basketball, not free false teeth (as Bill Buckley likes to say). Back in 1984, Walter Mondale called for a government that looked after "the sad." Conservatives are content to protect citizens from murder at the hands of foreign enemies.

***After* is a good idea, a feat of reporting, and a public service.**

This is an extremely long book, and it reads that way. Few will want to read every page, and many will want to skip the ongoing saga of this or that character, or agency. And yet you keep going, because you care. You are interested, and you feel that you have a lot to learn. *After* is a good idea, a feat of reporting, and a public service. The facts are the main thing, but Brill appends an epilogue, in which he is free—freer—with his opinions. Sen. McCain has complained that democracy "overreacts to a crisis." Yes, but "democracy underreacts to a real threat that it should be addressing when there is not a perceived crisis to focus attention on it." Brill is undoubtedly right on that. There is a price to be paid when America relaxes, as he argues.

I would go so far as to say that *After* is a patriotic act. It was patriotic of Brill to educate himself in these matters, and to pass on what he learned. He is as aware as anyone of the perils and complexities of the new age. If a Democrat wins the White House in 2004 (God forbid), this country could do worse—tons worse—than Brill as homeland-security secretary, or even attorney general. America responded well, he says. So did he. **NR**

YOU WILL KNOW THEM

"Look to the orchard trees," they said,
"Any autumn day will show
Bad fruit cannot come from good."
With such a guide you'd think I'd know

How to proceed in choosing friendships,
And yet I've misjudged everyone.
And if I had been Isaac's neighbor,
I would have hunted with his son

Only to learn that evil, too,
Was Esau's part, that one goat skin,
Fitted to Jacob's smoother skin,
Was all he needed to assume
A blessing that would part the two,
Born from the same good womb.

—OLIVIA SIMPSON ELLIS

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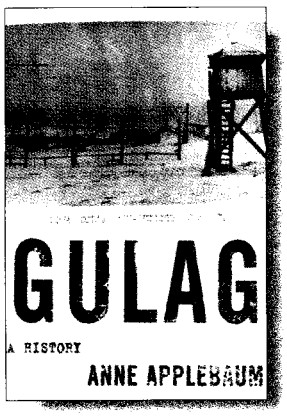
The Terror State



Gulag: A History, by Anne Applebaum (Doubleday, 592 pp., $35)

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

GULAG is an acronym for the Russian phrase meaning Main Camp Administration, or—in more direct language—the system of concentration and labor camps that was an essential feature of the Soviet Union. Anne Applebaum is tentative about the number of people who passed through Gulag, but comes up with a ballpark figure of 28.7 million: almost half the population of France, and rather more than the total population of Iraq. It appears impossible to compute how many actually died in Gulag or as a result of it: somewhere between one in ten and one in five. And that takes no account of the harm to the entire society wrought by general intimidation and suffering. Here was one of history's most frightful atrocities; the enormity of it calls into question the Enlightenment concept that mankind is innately good.

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn was one among the victims who survived, to write the three volumes of *The Gulag Archipelago*. Part memoir, part reportage, this is one of the 20th century's greatest books. Thanks to Solzhenitsyn, Gulag entered everyday speech as a metaphor for the evil of Communism. What he believed with all the passion at his command was that the truth about Gulag would lead to justice for its victims. There are by now some hundreds of other memoirs, almost all by intellectuals, some well known and others which ought to be better known. A few are written by Americans, usually trying to atone for their delusions about Communism.

Anne Applebaum has interviewed survivors and made full use of archival material now available in Russia. In clear but heartfelt prose, she examines all aspects of a horror which has left its stamp on humanity forever. Hers is an impressive achievement.

The book opens with a historical account. Czarist absolutism was a heritage of brutality that the Bolsheviks massively enlarged. Lenin had no qualms about making an example of his opponents by killing or otherwise repressing them. He instituted the secret police to carry out the dirty work. In the aftermath of the 1917 revolution the first scattering of camps was built at Solovetsky, near the Arctic Circle. Earning the unforgettable scorn of Solzhenitsyn, the famous and supposedly liberal writer Maxim Gorky visited Solovetsky, and wrote it up as a progressive experiment in reintegrating criminals into society.

At the end of the 1920s, Stalin was in a position to put into practice his Bolshevik belief that slave labor would be the cheapest and most effective engine of rapid industrialization. The White Sea Canal leading to the Baltic ports was the first such project, and by the time it was finished in 1933, some 25,000 or more slave laborers were dead. (Gorky praised this too.) Deliberate misrepresentation obscured the sinister reality of secret-police crime, fixing in much of the world the absurd notion that Communism was really accomplishing miracles of modernization and progress. Poorly engineered, the canal in fact proved more or less useless. "Surreal" is the word that Applebaum often applies to Gulag, its operation, and its purposes.

Stalin's will was the sole law of the Soviet Union. Arbitrarily, he began to set quotas of people to be arrested, and the secret police rounded them up accordingly. People were arrested "for nothing," in a phrase of the poet Anna Akhmatova. They and their families became "enemies of the people," a blanket condemnation borrowed from Robespierre and the French Revolution. After a spell in prison for the predetermined formalities, they were herded into cattle wagons for transportation to Gulag. Spread far and wide across the country, the camps were also bewilderingly varied—some of them for exiles, others "corrective-labor colonies," and still others virtually extermination camps, so dreadful were the conditions of climate, hunger, and illness. The Great Terror of 1937–38 was marked by mass shootings.

In Russian slang, the slave laborers were known as *zeks*. They lived in flimsy barracks within barbed-wire precincts. In work squads, they were forced to fulfill almost impossible norms, failing which they received diminished rations of food. They had to log virgin forests, and mine for gold, nickel, and coal; they were put to construction and factory work of all sorts. Women were as likely to be doing heavy labor as sewing uniforms. Astonishingly, the numbers of Gulag prisoners rose during World War II, without doubt weakening the nation's military performance. The camp system was in fact too disorganized and wasteful ever to be profitable; the production of free workers would have served Stalin better. But he maintained a primitive preconception that in Gulag he was getting something for nothing, and he was not to be deflected by rational considerations.

Applebaum offers many telling examples of the cruelty that Gulag generated. On one occasion 6,114 peasants, described as "backward elements," were dumped on the uninhabited island of Nazino; after three months 4,000 of them were dead, and those who survived had become cannibals. Barbara Armonas was an American married to a Lithuanian. In the wagon of the train deporting Armonas to Siberia was a woman who had given birth four hours earlier, and a paralyzed 83-year-old woman who could not keep herself clean. When a little boy died, guards just took his body out at a stop in an unknown forest. Elsewhere a camp trusty stopped two men from quarrelling by knocking their eyes out with a pick. One day, another caught an elderly professor eating a rotten fish, and in apparent disgust gave him a blow which killed him. Or

Mr. Pryce-Jones is an NR senior editor. One of his books is *The War That Never Was: The Fall of the Soviet Empire 1985–1991*.

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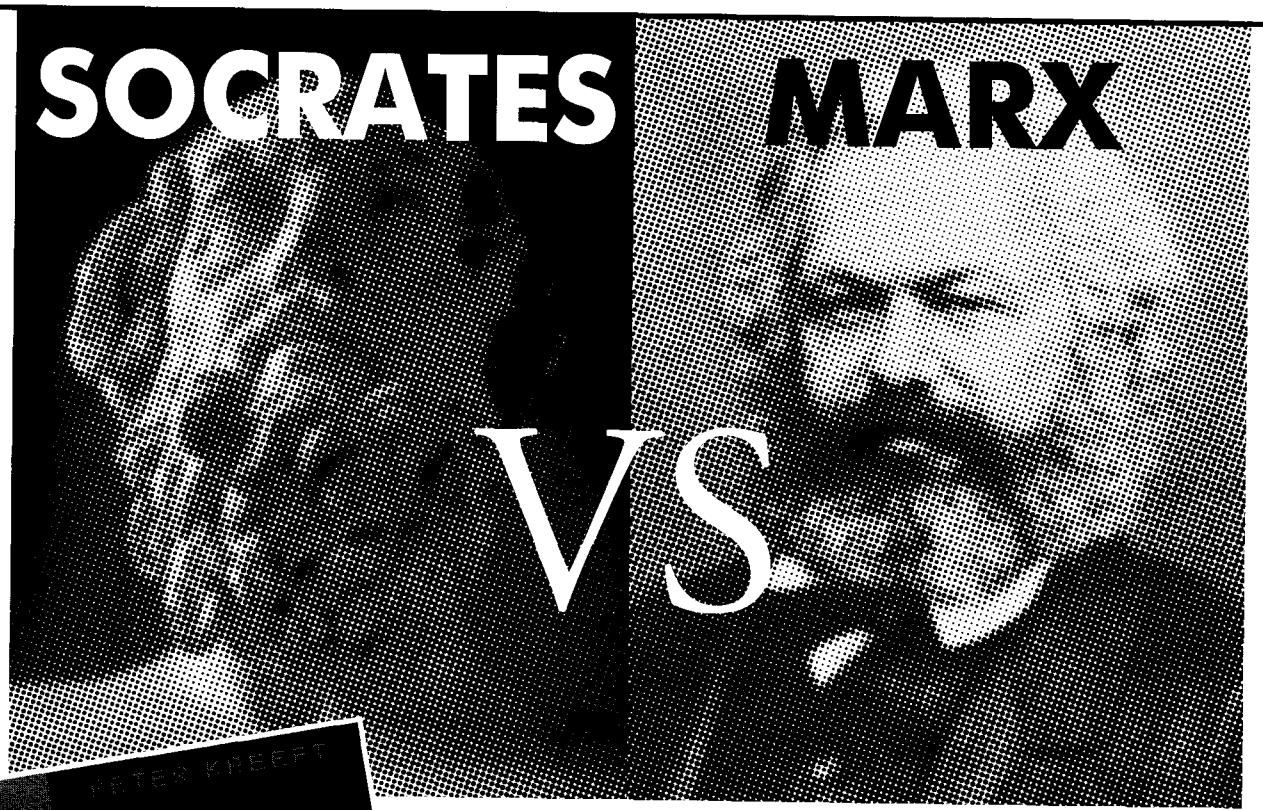

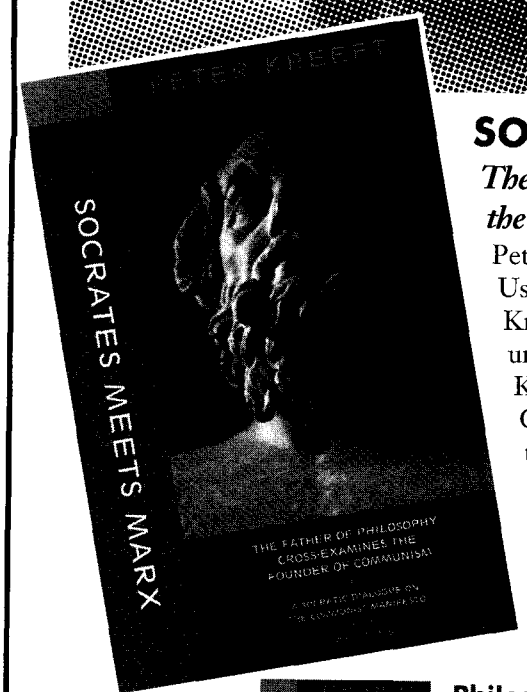

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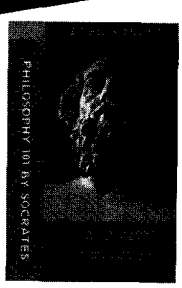

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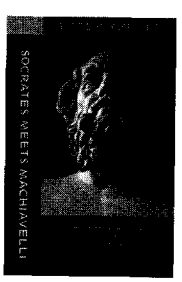

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again, typically, a prisoner fell in the snow, and the rest of the squad stripped off and divided his clothes; before dying the naked man had time for his last words, "It's so cold." As a matter of daily routine, guards brutalized prisoners, and prisoners brutalized one another with murder, rape (of women and men alike), and theft. Possession of a spoon or a needle might be an issue of life and death. Applebaum confirms Solzhenitsyn's unforgettable description of the war the genuine criminals waged against the "politicals." There were also what she calls "strategies for survival," involving collaboration with the secret police, or ingratiating oneself with powerful camp criminals.

Let Olga Adamova-Sliozberg speak for millions like her. She was in Gulag for 20 years and 41 days. Her husband died in the cellars of the Lubyanka, the secret-police headquarters in Moscow. Eventually the authorities admitted that her arrest and her husband's had been a mistake; she was rehabilitated, and given two months' pay and eleven-and-a-half rubles that had been in her husband's possession at the time of his death. She returned home, she wrote, to weep for her husband, her children who had grown up as orphans, her parents who had died of grief, and for all her friends "who lie beneath the frozen earth of Kolyma." The cumulative effect of so many such fates is shattering.

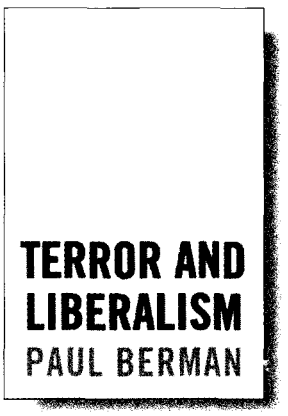
How could people much like us have done these things to other people much like us? Solzhenitsyn thought that boredom and anger conditioned the secret police and guards to behave so barbarically. Applebaum seems to suggest that at least some of the blame lies in Russian history, and the Russian character, which values the collectivity above the individual. But parallels with the contemporary Nazi camps are striking. German and Soviet camps had similar legalistic fictions to justify their existence, and similar organizational structures and official euphemisms. In many details, such as the use of a camp orchestra to obscure the everyday reality, or the use of such slogans as "Work makes you free," the totalitarian powers were twins. Licensing conduct which in other circumstances would be illegal or taboo, totalitarianism overwhelms the conscience.

Stalin's death allowed his successors to admit, at least among themselves, that Gulag had been a human and economic disaster. Beria, Stalin's faithful henchman, was the first to say so. Beria's motives seemed suspect to Khrushchev, who soon had him judicially murdered; but then, at the celebrated Twentieth Party Congress in 1956, Khrushchev himself disclosed some dimensions of Stalin's criminality. The extent to which Communist bosses had ever been sincere in their beliefs is questionable, but once even the partial truth was out about Gulag, ordinary Communists could no longer believe in themselves and their claims to be building utopia. What had passed as ideology was evidently systematic criminality. Paying tribute to the likes of Vladimir Bukovsky, Natan Sharansky, and Anatoly Marchenko, Applebaum gives a very succinct account of the dissident movement which sprang up out of the immediate disillusion with Communism.

The Gulag's parallels with the contemporary Nazi camps are striking.

Andropov, as head of the secret police, had some of Stalin's will and temperament. His ill-health and death prevented what might otherwise have been a prolongation of Stalinism. A kindlier man by nature, unwilling to sanction crime, Gorbachev was to discover that Russians were no longer prepared to put up with the system that had subjected them to Gulag. All the same, Applebaum closes her book on a troubling note. In the aftermath of Communism, there has been no reckoning. Nazis responsible for their camps were brought to trial by the thousands, and a good many sentenced and executed. Today's Russia is full of men responsible at all operational levels for Gulag, and they are living comfortably on state pensions. Failure to make any of these men account for their crimes means that there is no firm distinction in the society between right and wrong. Those who ran Gulag seem to have got away with it. Another generation, then, simply has to make what it can of the memory left by all this horror, and the utter pointlessness of it. Never mind Solzhenitsyn, or now Applebaum, the truth about Gulag has not brought justice with it. **NR**

The Liberals' Collapse



Terror and Liberalism,
by Paul Berman
(Norton, 216 pp., $21)

ADRIAN KARATNYCKY

THE resurgence of Muslim political extremism, which reached its apogee on 9/11, has shocked our sense of safety and invulnerability and led to a fundamental reappraisal of the post–Cold War world. But while much of the political spectrum in the democratic West has forthrightly addressed the threats posed by terrorism emanating from the Middle East, on the political left the phenomenon represented by 9/11 has called forth a far different reaction: The Left has been busy placing blame for the terrorist upsurge on the alleged predations of the U.S. For Noam Chomsky, whose pamphlet on 9/11 is a bestseller on U.S. campuses, it is the greed and power of American corporations that is at the root of the terrorist attacks. In Chomsky's view capitalism is responsible for drenching the world in blood and misery. Missing on the left is a revulsion at and condemnation of the anti-democratic ideologies of those who wage jihad.

To be sure, European Left-liberal voices like Poland's Adam Michnik and

Mr. Karatnycky is counselor and senior scholar at Freedom House.

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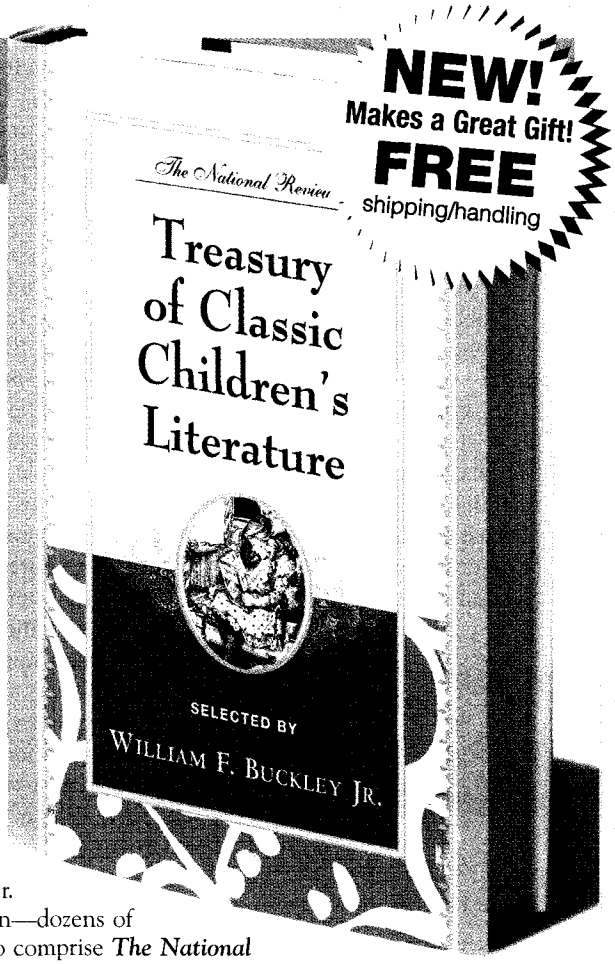

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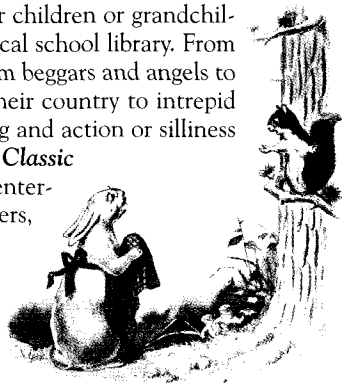

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Hungarian novelist and political critic Gyorgy Konrad have rejected such arrant nonsense and even strongly supported the U.S.-led war against Saddam Hussein. And in the U.S. a handful of eloquent voices on the left have dared challenge the post–9/11 leftist consensus, most notably Christopher Hitchens and Paul Berman, author of this book, *Terror and Liberalism*.

It is to the Left, both in the U.S. and worldwide, that Berman addresses his volume. He challenges the Left's "root causes" explanation of terrorism from the Middle East and argues that it must instead be understood as an ideological, totalitarian threat that resembles Fascism and Communism in significant ways.

As Berman convincingly demonstrates in his brief but rich intellectual history, the international Left attempts to explain the terrorism and brutality of revolutionary Islamism and totalitarian Ba'athism by resorting to a standard arsenal of socioeconomic arguments. According to Berman, for the rationalist mind of the leftist, it is incomprehensible that "millions of people have gone out of their minds and subscribed to a pathological political tendency"; surely, leftists argue, there must be some "unspeakable social condition that has provoked the murderous impulse." The more unspeakable the act, the more unspeakable the social factors motivating the actor.

Berman convincingly demolishes the socioeconomic explanations for jihadist terrorism; he also demonstrates that the terror isn't payback for alleged cruelties perpetrated by the U.S. and the West against Arab and Islamic populations (as many on the left argue). Indeed, Berman reminds us, the record of the U.S. and the West is hardly anti-Muslim. He recalls the broad array of military actions taken over the past decade in behalf of victims of violence and oppression in Muslim Bosnia, Albania, and Afghanistan, and in Arab Somalia. To this list one can now add Iraq. In each setting, the West's intervention has served to defend Muslims and protect the exercise of the Islamic faith. The recent scenes of hundreds of thousands of Iraqi Shiites, openly expressing their faith on a pilgrimage to Karbala, only underscore this fact.

Berman does justice to the complexity of the origin of Mideast-based violence. He observes in his lucid discussion of Palestinian suicide bombers: "It was easy to see how young suicide terrorists had ended up agreeing to kill themselves [with innocent others]. Enormous institutions elsewhere in the Arab world, the Saudi princelings, the Iraqi and Syrian Ba'ath, some of the great institutions of Arab journalism, told them to do so, and in the Saudi and Iraqi cases, even paid [their families]." The author devotes a large portion of this small volume to the ideas of the seminal Egyptian thinker Sayyid Qutb, the theoretical progenitor of jihadist revolutionary Islam and the ideological father of Osama bin Laden and the suicide-bomber terrorists that menace Israel. As Berman explains, Qutb—whom he regards as a compelling and complex writer—posited that "a proper understanding of the Koran can be achieved only in an atmosphere of serious struggle, and only by someone who is engaged in a ferocious campaign for Islam." The ferocity that Qutb advocated derives from a worldview shaped in Egypt in the 1950s, but the same worldview is easily applied by fanatical revolutionaries to the new millennium. For them, as for Qutb, the world of Islam—or at least their minority version of Islam—is under siege and must be defended at all costs and by all means.

Qutb and his totalitarian descendants consider that this is not a war over territory but a battle of ideas.

Prefiguring Osama bin Laden's jihad against "Jews and Crusaders," Qutb warned some 50 years ago that "world Zionism and the crusading Churches, as well as world Communism, are conducting a fight against Islam and the Muslim community." Conjuring up an enemy and an all-encompassing threat was a characteristic ploy of 20th-century totalitarian demagogues. Capitalism, the cosmopolitans, the Jews, and imperialists were invoked as enemies by the Nazis and Communists of Europe and the Third World; it is hardly surprising that Muslim totalitarians would appropriate them in our age.

Berman says that Qutb (hanged by Nasser in 1966) and his totalitarian descendants consider that this is not a war over territory but a battle of ideas. In this, they are correct. They are in a struggle against an enemy of their totalist ideology: the values of tolerance, human rights, and democracy. These ideas and values are compatible with Islam—but pose a grave threat to the Muslim totalitarians.

Berman's exegesis is convincing—but much of the Left continues to see in

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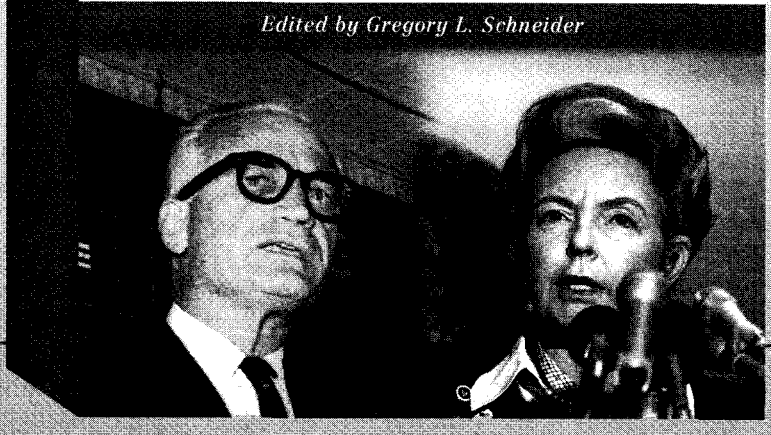

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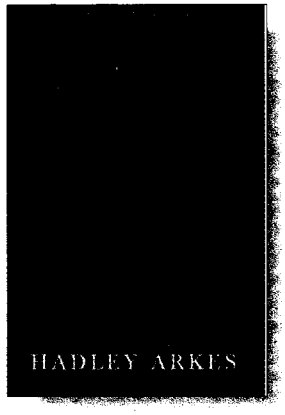
the jihadists a rebellion against global capitalism and the "sham" democracy it seeks to impose. This accounts for the ferocity of the Left's denunciations of the war against Iraq and for its opposition to the war in Afghanistan. And this poses a serious practical problem for the West—because, says Berman, understanding the totalitarian nature of the threat is essential to defeating it politically in the Islamic world. The 20th century offers an analogy: "Totalitarian movements flourished . . . because modern life allowed them to flourish." For the Nazis to triumph, you needed "all the other right-wing movements that [looked] on the Nazis in a friendly light"; and Stalin's tyranny could not have claimed half of Europe and much of Asia without "naïve trade-union leaders and ignorant workers who believe what they are told."

Only if we properly understand the threat as ideological can we effectively vanquish it through a clear and consistent war on terror rooted in articulation and promotion of liberal-democratic values. As Berman asserts, in the end, "freedom for others means safety for ourselves." The successful defeat of Muslim totalitarians requires leaders who know "how to wage a war of ideas even while waging the other kind of war." Iraq and Afghanistan have proven we can wage "the other kind of war," but the jury is still out on how well we will wage the war of ideas.

In examining the key ideas and debates that emanate from the war on terrorism, Paul Berman has written an accomplished intellectual history of fanatical Islamism and shed light on the ideas and prejudices that currently predominate in the Western Left. Although he addresses the liberal and leftist reader, his book has insights for everyone across the political spectrum who seeks a better understanding of the present danger. In this sense *Terror and Liberalism* is a book in the tradition of Camus, Orwell, and Koestler. Like these anti-totalitarian giants, who also emerged from the political Left, Berman is helping to illuminate the mechanisms and expose the threat of the totalitarian idea. **NR**

■ SHELF LIFE ■

Defending the Human



MICHAEL POTEMRA

"As a child of God, I believe my rights are not derived from the Constitution. My rights are not derived from any government. My rights are not derived from any majority. *My rights are because I exist.* They were given to me and each of my fellow citizens by our Creator and they represent the essence of human dignity." This was one of the most eloquent statements in modern times of the doctrine of natural human rights, and it was delivered—with high drama, in a public forum—as a rebuke to a political thinker the speaker suspected of a weak commitment to the protection of those rights.

But the speaker was pro-choice Senator Joseph Biden, and his target was the legendary jurist Robert Bork. In his marvelous new book, *Natural Rights & the Right to Choose* (Cambridge, 302 pp., $28), political philosopher Hadley Arkes explores the thinking behind Biden's assertion—and the unwillingness of Biden himself, and the rest of the political culture, to act on its implications. Arkes asks: "Of what sense would it be to claim that we have rights that do not depend on the sufferance of a majority, and then say that our very standing as humans—as rights-bearing beings—may itself depend on the opinions of the majority?"

The issue that energizes Arkes is abortion, but that is an accident of history. The majoritarian impulse that today denies—legislatively and judicially—the humanity of the not-yet-born human being, just a few years ago denied the rights of black-skinned human beings. Then as now, elaborate theoretical justifications were concocted, but these ex post facto rationalizations barely disguised the underlying fact of power politics: We, the majority, will deny rights to you, the weak and unpopular minority, simply because you do not have the power to stop us. And there will, of course, never be a shortage of highly educated scholars who will prove (to our satisfaction, at least) that we—piously referred to as "the community"—have the right to do so. As long as the affected class is disenfranchised, they can be quite effectively stripped of their status as human beings. Arkes finds a classic instance of this in American literature:

> The best clue to the play of mind at work here comes from *Huckleberry Finn*. Huck had contrived a story and told Aunt Sally that his boat was delayed because "we blowed out a cylinder-head." Aunt Sally reacted: "Good gracious! anybody hurt?" "No'm. Killed a nigger." "Well, it's lucky; because sometimes people do get hurt."

"For certain people," Arkes comments, "at a certain time, blacks simply did not register as real 'people,' whose injuries somehow *counted*." Arkes is not engaging in a facile denunciation of the outgrown mores of people long dead, but pointing the finger at today's America, and tomorrow's: *De te fabula narratur.*

This book is an excellent defense of human rights, because Arkes is not just intelligent and passionate but also a master at creating the kind of analogies that compel thought. One example: "The visitor from Britain gets off a plane in New York, and he will not have to show his passport before the police will protect him from a lawless assault in the street. . . . Any government that calls itself a government of law should

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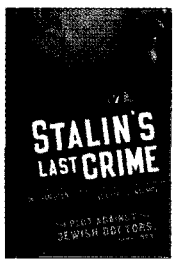
seek to protect him from that species of unjustified harm." Justice demands that he be protected—*simply because he exists*.

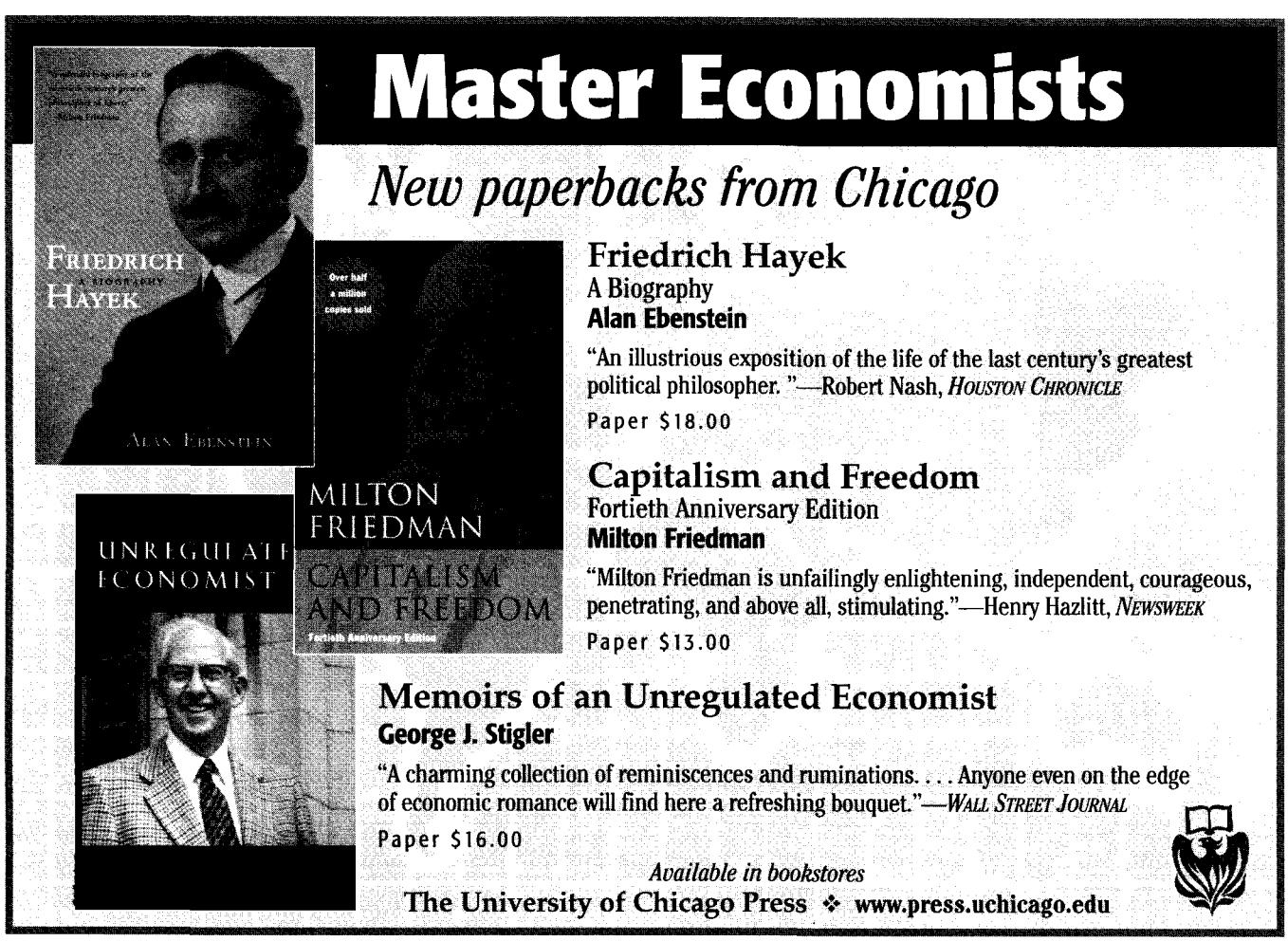
Someday, in the not unimaginably distant future, the progress of medicine and birth-control technology will probably make abortion obsolete; it will then be seen as a barbaric custom on a par with the infant exposure practiced by the ancients. Human nature, being what it is, will seek others to marginalize and exclude from the circle of the protected. Perhaps it will be an unpopular religion, or a political fringe group: "They're . . . *weird*. They're . . . *not like us*. Surely the Bill of Rights doesn't apply . . . *to them*." In that day—when abortion is a dim memory, utterly bereft of political and intellectual defenders—Hadley Arkes's book will remain a compelling witness to the truth about all human beings. It will be read, and quoted, in defense of those whose lives and liberties are most endangered. It is a book to be treasured.



■ After the mass murders, the state-enforced famines, and the Gulag, is it still possible that Stalinism can be revealed as worse than we had thought? It beggars the imagination. But *Stalin's Last Crime: The Plot Against the Jewish Doctors, 1948–1953* (HarperCollins, 399 pp., $26.95), by the redoubtable Jonathan Brent and Vladimir P. Naumov, makes the case that Stalin may have been saving the worst for last.

In early 1953, the Stalin regime was prosecuting Jewish doctors on charges of conspiracy against the lives of Kremlin officials. This "Doctors' Plot" has been notorious for 50 years now, but the true dimensions of its malevolence have not been fully understood. Using newly obtained Russian documents, Brent and Naumov suggest that the prosecution of the doctors was part of a broader strategic conspiracy—against not just Soviet Jews but the entire West. The picture of Stalin that emerges from this book is of a tyrant who was obsessed with nostalgia for the 1930s—the era of purges and mass terror—and viewed his Kremlin flunkeys as too soft on the U.S. and Britain. At a Presidium meeting on December 1, 1952, Stalin "berated all those present, saying 'Here, look at you—blind men, kittens, you don't see the enemy . . . the country will perish because you are not able to recognize the enemy.'" Brent and Naumov comment: "Those who do not see the enemy must be finished off. The time was now at hand for another complete accounting."

When one is trying to set off a mass panic against enemies within, the need for a scapegoat arises—and the Jews were a convenient one. Their supposed anti-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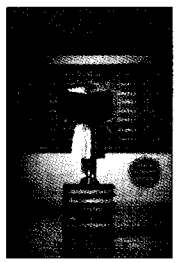
Russian loyalty to the new state of Israel would make it easy to portray them as imperialist lackeys, connected to—in the words of *Izvestia*, on January 15, 1953—"the secret enemies of the people, the unannihilated remainder of anti-Soviet riff raff." Stalin also built up the fantastic tale of Ivan Varfolomeyev, who alleged that the U.S. was planning to incinerate the Kremlin by firing nuclear missiles from the windows of its embassy in Moscow. Varfolomeyev, the authors relate, "was the missing link that would demonstrate the active involvement of [the U.S.] and American Jews in a plot to destroy . . . the entire Soviet Union."

It is a testimony to the authors' understanding of totalitarian paranoia, and to their command of detail, that they can illustrate convincingly how such delusions came to blight the lives of millions. Brent and Naumov point to the suspicious circumstances surrounding Stalin's death, and suggest that his Kremlin underlings may have been "complicit" in speeding him toward the final exit. If so, it was none too soon, because he haunts us still: The *New York Times* reported earlier this year that "more than half of all respondents [to a Russian poll] believe Stalin's role in Russian history was positive, while only a third disagreed." Brent and Naumov would not be surprised: They view Stalin and Stalinism as "a perpetual possibility." And that is the final lesson of their gripping, terrifying book.

■ Essential to any totalitarian system is a dedicated band of policemen who are more interested in punishing heresy than in defending the community from the depredations of criminals. These talented goons are the subject of Robert J. Stove's fascinating new book, *The Unsleeping Eye: Secret Police and Their Victims* (Encounter, 367 pp., $25.95). Rich in anecdote, the book succeeds in personalizing the thugs who are at the center of the rogue-state machinery. Stove chooses for detailed treatment not just the usual suspects—Nazis, Soviets—but also such fascinating characters as Sir Francis Walsingham, head of Elizabeth I's secret police, and Joseph Fouché, who did Napoleon's dirtiest work. (It was Fouché who boasted, "Where three are met together, I have always one listening.")

Stove concludes his account with a cautionary question: "Are we witnessing the re-emergence of outright secret police terror, all carried out—but of course—in the name of wartime 'emergency' powers?" Posed in this manner, his query sounds similar to the reflexive anti-hysteria hysteria of the American Left. But his answer shows a prudence and sensitivity that marks him as a true conservative: "This question will be easier to answer in a decade's time; [but] much will depend upon whether it can even be asked." Stove, an accomplished writer and the son of legendary Australian conservative philosopher David Stove, is one of the people we will count on to make sure the right questions are asked.



■ The new and expanded paperback edition of *Professing Feminism: Education and Indoctrination in Women's Studies*, by Daphne Patai and Noretta Koertge (Lexington, 426 pp., $26.95), is a welcome publishing event. While the tale it has to tell is dismaying—women's studies programs are apparently even more mired in anti-intellectual prattle and anti-male bigotry than they were when the first edition came out, back in 1994—the book is still wonderfully entertaining. The anecdotes from this academic cesspit continue to amaze—and should do their part to turn intelligent people of both sexes away from demeaning gender stereotypes, even when those stereotypes are being perpetrated by self-described feminists.

One of the most poignant signs of hope in this book is buried in a footnote, in which the authors report some comments in which renowned novelist Doris Lessing condemned the demonizing of men in the schools. In August 2001, Lessing said that men are "continually demeaned and insulted":

> I was in a class of 9- and 10-year olds, girls and boys, and this young woman was telling these kids that the reason for wars was the innately violent nature of men. . . . You could see the little girls, fat with complacency and conceit, while the little boys sat there crumpled, apologizing for their existence. . . . The most stupid, ill-educated, and nasty woman can rubbish the nicest, kindest and most intelligent man and no one protests.

Ah, but there is protest; Patai and Koertge are leading the charge, with their thrilling book.

■ Conservatives have always loved a good intellectual brawl; anyone who doubts this should pick up a copy of *Conservatism in America since 1930: A Reader* (NYU, 452 pp., $22.95). All the greats—Buckley, Hayek, Kirk, Friedman, Reagan—are represented in this fine anthology edited by Gregory L. Schneider, and the gloves occasionally come off. Here, for example, is Frank Meyer on Russell Kirk:

> [We should not] imitate Dr. Kirk's own arrogance when he pontificates that "individualism is anti-Christian." . . . No doubt his political position is compatible with Christianity, but so are many other positions. . . . Dr. Kirk in the peroration of *The Conservative Mind* can complacently write: "Our world may be passing from contract back to status. . . ." The responsibility will be shared by those who, while they long for the conditions of our free ancestors, reject as abstract and doctrinaire the very principles which made them free.

The next time a liberal suggests that conservatism is a philosophy of stolid complacency, throw *that* at him. Even the Right's most respected philosopher—

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indeed, the author of *The Conservative Mind*, which remains today a genuine masterpiece and modern conservatism's foundational text—was subjected in his time to such incendiary attack from *within the movement*.

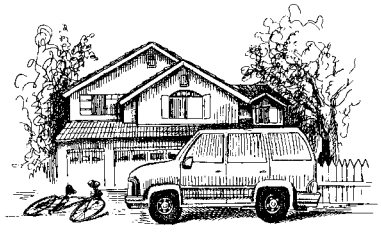
But beneath the intellectual bloodshed there are, of course, deeper truths. And we would do well to recall the words of Dan Himmelfarb, in a 1988 *Commentary* essay (also reprinted in this anthology):

> Whether or not one is "truly" a conservative, however, ought not to be a matter of fundamental importance. More significant than what one is called is what one believes: labels matter less than principles. Thus liberal democrats should be willing to regard as friends those who are generally sympathetic to the principles of liberal democracy, regardless of what these individuals are called (or call themselves).

In short: If you favor individual rights and the consent of the governed, you're with us. **NR**

■ THE STRAGGLER ■

Long Island Easter



JOHN DERBYSHIRE

RELIGIOUS observances aside, the principal component of Easter, so far as the Derbyshire household is concerned, is a picnic at Caumsett State Park. This is a spread of open land, about two miles by one and a half, on Long Island's north shore. It was perfectly wild until 1921, when Marshall Field III, grandson of the Chicago department-store magnate, bought it to be his country estate. With the assistance of the architect John Russell Pope, Field built a 65-room mansion overlooking the Sound, with wide lawns sloping down to woodlands, a freshwater pond, and the beach. The rest of the estate, to the south and west of the mansion, was turned into an active gentleman's paradise with facilities for every sport but golf (the area being already pretty well supplied with exclusive golf clubs), as well as for cattle- and horse-breeding.

Field himself seems to have had little pleasure of the place. The Puritan work ethic—Zechariah, first of the American Fields, arrived on these shores around 1630—ran strong in him. Says a biographer: "He was surrounded by the luxuries intended to provide relaxation, yet he never relaxed. . . . At Caumsett he hurried from one sport to another as though they were appointments in a business day. . . .

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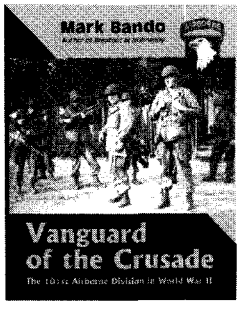

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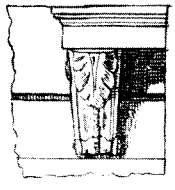
While others relaxed on his yacht, Field would board a speedboat, dash down the Sound, and thread his way breathtakingly through East River traffic until he reached the River Club."

One is not very surprised to learn that Field's first two marriages failed. The third lasted, though, and he died in 1956 after 20 years of philanthropy and high-minded social activism. Caumsett passed to the State in 1961 and became a public park.

We flatter ourselves that our modest annual visits there give us more enjoyment than Field ever knew. Arriving at the mansion, we spread a blanket on the lawn and unpack our feast: sandwiches, decorated eggs, fresh fruit. Afterwards we fly kites and the kids climb a tree. Rosie, my wife, is still, after 17 years' residence, struck by the emptiness of America. That this lovely lawn, these secluded beaches, a mere 30 miles from a metropolis of millions, attract only a handful of people even on a warm holiday weekend, still seems amazing to her. "In China, you wouldn't be able to see the grass for the people." And in fact, of the 30 or so picnickers scattered around the lawn, a surprising proportion are Chinese. We get talking to one of them, a lady from Shanghai. The lady's husband joins us. Non-Chinese, he is a high-school teacher in the city. While the women stay to chat in their own language, I walk with him and our children down over the lawn and through the woods to the beach.



It turns out that the husband is an amateur geologist. Why, I wonder aloud as we stand on the beach, are the boulders so strikingly different from one another in appearance? This one is reddish and porous-looking, that one square, smooth, and gray. Ah, says my new acquaintance, this area was the furthest point reached by the great ice sheets of 20,000 years ago. The glaciers dragged along with them rocks from all over. Then, when the glaciers receded, they left the rocks behind.

I love to pick up odd facts of that kind. They nourish the imagination. Looking across the Sound to the far Connecticut shore, it is easy to conjure up the scene as it must have looked 300 lifetimes ago. Instead of seven miles of placid water, in my mind's eye I see a vast plateau of ice, ending in an ice wall a few yards to my front, cracking and groaning as it begins its slow retreat northward.

As several famous poems illustrate, these millennial reflections always come easily to mind when contemplating the sea. Arthur C. Clarke wrote a short story about a beach, describing it in three snapshots several thousand years apart. In the first, a naked child plays with the shells and pebbles until his father, clad in animal skin and carrying a spear, calls him away. In the second, we see a modern child building sandcastles, the family sedan parked up on the road. In the third, a child of the far future lingers on the beach till his parents come to fetch him, to take him to the great silver starship waiting to evacuate mankind from Earth ahead of a looming cosmic catastrophe. It's a nice story, but unrealistic: Beaches don't last that long. They expand or erode, are lifted up or drowned by earthquakes, have their water sucked away into ice caps. Still, it's a good story, and romantic to think of little Indian children playing here in the centuries before Columbus, calling to one another as my own children are now, but in some lost Algonquian dialect.

Presumably Marshall Field III walked here, too—perhaps in the dawn after some sleepless night while one of his marriages was disintegrating. He felt his failure in marriage very keenly, and submitted to psychoanalysis in the hope of understanding the causes. That was in the mid 1930s, at just about the time he stopped being a Hoover Republican and took up Rooseveltian social reform. Field went on to found *New York PM*, a liberal newspaper that carried no advertising. Some of his conservative friends blamed it all on the analyst, a Russian named Zilboorg, who had held a minor post in Kerensky's government of 1917, then come to America and made a name for himself analyzing showbiz figures like George Gershwin.

It is useful, and psychically healthful, to take time out like this in some beautiful place, preferably near open water; to savor the sunshine and sea-smell; to talk in an inconsequential way with one's family or with strangers; to reflect on those who have gone before, and those who will come after. What better season for such an exercise than Easter, the time of rebirth and resurrection, when the turning of life's great wheel is most visible? Recreation; re-creation. **NR**

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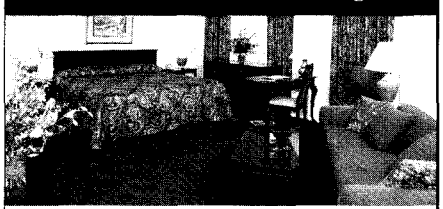

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on the right

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Toward a Revised Koran

NEW YORK, APRIL 11

THE horror of U.S., Inc., when an enterprising soldier draped an American flag over the bronze head of Saddam Hussein in Baghdad, is an early warning signal of the efforts being made to hoist only a non-imperialist flag in Iraq. The challenge ahead is formidable, but not for that reason unappealing. It would be fine if we secured the active cooperation of Saudi Arabia, because in Jedda is the political key to the problem.

In 1969 a summit conference was called, which met in Rabat, Morocco, to form the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), with a permanent secretariat in Jedda. The challenge is to wrest from Jedda de facto sanction for an Iraqi government that will be Muslim but that will observe a separation of church and state. The end is that secular concerns and the liberty of conscience should fuse to create an incipient democracy.

The OIC has 57 member states, not all of them exclusively Muslim, but all with a substantial Muslim population. There are democratic states among them, including Turkey, whose Islamic majority prevailed in the last election and, ironically, refused to facilitate the American expedition. The scholar Bernard Lewis identifies three schools of Islamic thought in the matter of dissenters, or infidels, to use theological language. There are those who believe that a sacred mission of Islam is to conquer the world by the use of the sword if necessary. A second accepts cohabitation of the planet but with stern monolithic concern for Islamic preeminence. The third accepts a division in religions abroad, and the realities and benefits of coexistence.

Tomorrow, the civil administration in Iraq will proceed under an American viceroy. The day after tomorrow will come in a year or two, when a credible Iraqi assembly evolves. The missionary work of the U.S. Department of State is to elicit a commitment to freedom of conscience from Muslim authorities. And there is no shortage of those who would step forward and declare that the Koran does not enjoin such activity as was engaged in by Saddam Hussein.

Professor Lewis tells us that medieval jurists and theologians discussed at some length the rules of warfare, including such questions as which weapons are permitted, which not. "There is even some discussion in medieval texts of the lawfulness of missile and chemical warfare, the one relating to mangonels and catapults, the other to poison-tipped arrows and the poisoning of enemy water supplies."

There is internal dissent. "Some justices permit, some restrict, some disapprove of the use of these weapons. The stated reason for concern is the indiscriminate casualties that they inflict." Mr. Lewis, in his new book *The Crisis of Islam*, concludes the paragraph with charming self-effacement. "At no point do the basic texts of Islam enjoin terrorism and murder. At no point—as far as I am aware—do they even consider the random slaughter of uninvolved bystanders." Well, doc, if you are unaware, after a lifetime's scholarship, of any sovereign Islamic mandate that permits random slaughter such as was practiced by Saddam Hussein, we should proceed on the assumption that no member of a civil government in Baghdad will come up with a Koranic injunction to resume the random slaughter and oppression sometimes used to enforce one-man rule.

In the best of all possible worlds, the sheer dazzle of the coalition's liberation should serve to illuminate the privations of life without freedom. But it won't be enough. If the inherent allure of freedom were sufficient to convert those who suffer from life without it, autocratic rule would disappear. More will be needed, in effective statesmanship, including persuasion and some tough love for those sheiks of Araby who continue life as though nothing at all had happened in Iraq. A great deal happened, including, for however brief a moment, the Stars and Stripes over the face of the tyrant.

Road Map for Israel

NEW YORK, APRIL 15

THERE is commotion on the matter of U.S. affinity for Israel, and it is not only within the right wing, as would be expected. At left-minded demonstrations in the weeks before we conquered Iraq, banners and graffiti were displayed which could be read as betraying hostility a) to Jews, b) to Israel, c) to the United States, d) to Israel-U.S. friendship/affinity/alliance/dependence, and e) to all of the above. On the right, the charge made by the so-called paleoconservatives is here and there reasonably interpreted as anti-Semitic in inspiration, but it rests reasonably on the simple complaint that United States policy is askew on account of the bearing, in that policy, of consideration for Israel.

A poll not greatly noticed a few weeks ago was to the effect that only 58 percent of U.S. Jews favored going to war against Iraq. That datum should have been more widely examined, because it is confounding in its implications. If there was less than solidarity among Jews in favor of war in the Mideast, how is it explained that the entire enterprise was said to be a Jewish operation?

What can't be disputed is that Israel is, if not the cause of perpetual friction in the Mideast, an unimaginative agent of it. In analyzing the so-called road map, which is an attempt at strategic deciphering of a plan designed to diminish tension and create a Palestinian state, one has to begin with an absolute given, which is the survival of the Israeli state. But, immediately, one founders on the question: What are the

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borders of the Israeli state we are determined should survive?

And we bump immediately into the question of the Israeli settlements. Keen students of the conflict, Thomas Friedman of the *New York Times* an example, have said it quite simply: Unless Israel retreats from the settlements, a coherent Palestinian state cannot evolve to the endurance of enclave states. There are historical exceptions, Goa in India, Hong Kong in China, which are now gone, and Gibraltar in Iberia, which time has stabilized. But the Israeli settlements are a pullulating sore, attracting terrorists, requiring Israeli security, and seeking, always, expansion. Israeli leaders are always promising to check increases in the settlements, but only Amram Mitzna, and he was soundly defeated at the last Israeli election, has spoken of the dissolution of some of the settlements. There is too much pride invested in those settlements, and 250,000 settlers directly involved in any proposal to dissolve them.

"But what would the Israelis get in return?" the British historian Alistair Horne commented when the proposal was ventilated at a forum. That isn't easy to answer, because although Israel is well protected against massive military aggression, its fear, today as it was yesterday and will be tomorrow, is of individual terrorists working havoc on Israeli men, women, and children, robbing the state of any wholesome security of life.

The new Palestinian prime minister Mahmoud Abbas is struggling to put together an imaginative cabinet, but suffers from the authority of old man Arafat to disband that government, lest it jeopardize Arafat's predilection for terrorism and the implied goal of the elimination of Israel.

But President Bush's road map has to put it this way to Tel Aviv: We cannot promise that the Palestinians will stop their suicide attacks, but we can tell you that the settlements are disruptive of any approach to a strategic arrangement. The settlements are impassable road blocks on the road map.

Although the liberation of Iraq was not undertaken merely to guarantee Israel's survival, that liberation removes a potential military aggressor and so fortifies Israeli security. The time then comes to establish that the United States government is not a creature of parliamentary coalitions in Israel, which have given to minority parties unbalanced leverage over government policies. The sooner Mr. Bush brings up this point, the sooner we can progress to making policy in that part of the world that earns the respect of the broader community.

U.N. Repairs

NEW YORK, APRIL 21

THE concern by the United Nations to have a hand in Iraq has high-minded aspects, if you look hard enough. There are people in the U.N. bureaucracy who reflect the idealism of the old-time one-worlders, and they seek to repair the breakage effected by the vote—the non-vote, as it happened—on Iraq. They are saying to themselves: We must not permit the division in the Security Council, which resulted in the U.S. and Great Britain taking unilateral action in Iraq, to evolve into a permanent schism. If the U.S. were permanently to detach from the U.N., the effect would be something like the Pope defecting from Rome. If he did, he would take the Vatican with him. If the U.S. departed the U.N., the U.N. would have left only real estate in New York.

Mr. Bush has begun the trading, nodding to the U.N. to say it was now time to lift the sanctions imposed during the armistice. Their purpose was to deprive Saddam Hussein of all of the income he would have had from the sale of that much of his oil as he had not succeeded in burning up in the last, spiteful days in 1991 before the U.S. victory. What then happened, in the ensuing years, was a relaxation of the ban, designed to permit revenue sufficient to buy food and medicine—the oil-for-bread program. There followed then an extravasation of Iraqi oil, via tankers and pipelines, with Syria a major purchaser and middleman.

We get to certain refinements of the question: What is to be done about contracts involving oil, or material for extracting and refining it? Many of these, we know inexactly, are obligations incurred by Saddam to Russia and France. France is a substantial creditor, shipping goods and matériel to Saddam, resulting in a debt. Of Saddam? Or of Iraq?

If there were a Solomon on the scene, he might decree that the cost of bringing Saddam down—$50 billion, to use a round figure—should be passed around with some reference to the per capita wealth of beneficiary nations, and to their proximity to Iraq. The closer you are, the greater your benefit from the neutralization of Iraq. "A" for close geographic propinquity—Turkey, for instance; "B" if a nation is within 500 miles; "C" within 1,000 miles, "D" further away. As for relative wealth, put down "I" for Rich (Saudi Arabia), "II" for Moderately Rich (Iran), "III" for Poor (Egypt).

Thus Germany would contribute as a B-I nation, along with France; Russia, B-II, Saudi Arabia, A-1, Syria, A-2, the U.S. and Japan, D-1, Egypt, A-3. The exact classification of individual nations is a subject the United Nations could profitably study, using all its resources to calculate wealth, and a simple atlas to reckon proximity.

On the matter of Mr. Blix and his weapons inspection, the operation could now be cancelled, sparing the U.N. that expense. Mr. Rumsfeld put it wisely when he said we will no longer look for WMD sites, we will look for people who tell us where they are. Their location can then be relayed to the U.N., for their files.

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"The peasants aren't so bad, Son, but the bourgeois are so judgmental!"

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what's right

DAVID FRUM

True to Our Schools

THUMP! THUMP!

The backpacks hit the floor with the whomph of a 500-pound bomb detonating inside a Baathist bunker. My children are still in elementary school, but when loaded up with textbooks and notepads, the bags they haul weigh at least 20 pounds. The backpacks are too heavy to be easily carried for long distances; they must be rolled on little wheels.

I myself did not own a backpack in elementary school. I didn't need one, because I never had any homework. I vividly remember the nasty shock of my first overnight assignment: It arrived at the beginning of the seventh grade. Until then, I'd walked to and from school with empty hands.

There's a common assumption among conservatives that the story of modern civilization is one of continuous decline. Depending on whom you ask, we hit our peak somewhere about 1955—or 1890—or maybe even the Middle Ages, and ever since it's been all downhill. This is not an assumption I can share. I graduated from high school a quarter-century ago, and as I compare my educational experiences to those of my children, I have to admit: My educational cohort probably represents something like the absolute nadir of the North American educational system.

My elementary school in the Toronto suburb of Willowdale abolished marks and grades in 1966—by happy coincidence, the year I entered elementary school. It was strongly believed at the time that assessing children according to some arbitrary standard would crush our little spirits. Instead, the school would evaluate how well each of us was fulfilling his own inner potential—and not surprisingly, it nearly always reported that we were doing just fine.

I arrived in junior high school—middle school, as many Americans would say—in the fall of 1973. The year before, the school had eliminated the last pitiful remains of its dress code. The girls used their new freedom to dress like Depression-era coal miners (denim overalls, slouch hats) or British Columbian lumberjacks (checked shirts, Greb boots). The boys preferred the heroin-addict look: tight black T-shirts, torn blue jeans, long stringy hair. I remember one unfortunate who transferred in mid-year from a less affluent school: On his first day, he wore a white-collar shirt neatly tucked into his corduroys—it took him an entire semester to recover from that horrible mistake.

The first thing I learned when I entered high school was how to procure a false ID. It was incredibly easy. The nearby University of Toronto issued international student cards that entitled the bearer to discount prices at European museums. The application-takers asked you for your birthday and typed onto the card whatever date you chose to give them. I promoted myself from 16 to 18 and received a flimsy, typewritten document that got me safely past the few bartenders who remembered to ask for it.

I graduated in 1978, and proceeded to a university that rather haughtily described its dorms as "colleges." I vividly remember a stern lecture in the fall of 1978 from the master of my college: "I don't," he said, "want to catch any of you smoking marijuana." He set us all a fine example by postponing his marijuana-smoking until after midnight.

What is the opposite of zero tolerance? Maximum tolerance? My high school—generally regarded as an academically rigorous institution—permitted me to opt out of both physics and biology, to skip trigonometry entirely, and to graduate without the ability to read a single note of music. When I read about these kids who get expelled for bringing Midol to school, I remember the boy who sold Quaaludes undetected in the locker room.

Of all the families I knew, mine was the only one to restrict television-watching in any way—nevertheless, I probably watched at least twice as much as my children or any of their friends are allowed. I look back on those years now and wonder what on earth the grown-ups thought they were doing.

Of course, my children's generation will probably wonder exactly the same thing. My generation of parents—at least that subset of parents who are married and middle-class—are grimly determined to deny their own children the amazing liberty they themselves once enjoyed.

We were rarely tested. (I remember one teacher who put a big red checkmark and the words "Good try!" on every student's quiz sheet.) Our children are measured and scored like prize heifers.

We did little work. (I belong to the New Math generation: I absorbed the times tables only accidentally—I still have to do a computation for 11 x 13.)

We were lightly disciplined: A 30-minute detention was considered a savage sentence.

We slept in. School in those days started at 9 A.M. Today, elementary schools often start at 8:20; high school, at 7:30.

Above all, we were let alone. If boys and girls were left unsupervised in after-school basements, it was not exactly because the adults were neglectful, but because those veterans of the hard years of Depression and war could not imagine what a more indulged generation of children might be doing down there.

We parents watch our kids like the Stasi.

Well, my generation of parents *can* imagine it—and so we put our little darlings under Stasi-like supervision. We buy them helmets for their bicycles, for their tricycles even. We schedule their days from dawn to dusk with sports and music lessons and extra tutoring. We pass laws requiring shopkeepers to scrutinize ID cards before selling cigarettes or beer. Their teachers can sniff substance abuse at 50 paces. And then of course there is the work: the mountains and mountains of work.

We tell ourselves that all of this is for the children's own good, and surely much of it is. Their schools are drug-free, they know their times tables, and they won't get injured if they fall off their safety-engineered jungle gyms. But would I trade places with them? Reader—would you? **NR**

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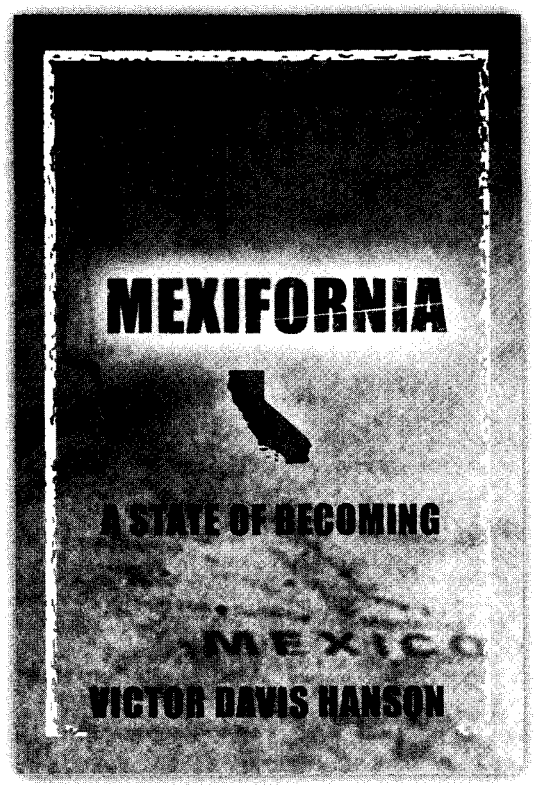
North of the Border



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Part history, part political analysis, and part memoir, ***Mexifornia*** is an intensely personal book by one of our most important writers about how illegal immigration has changed California and the rest of the nation for which the Golden State has always served as a trendsetter.

Owner of a family farm in the Central Valley, Victor Davis Hanson shows how the real losers in the chaos caused by hemorrhaging borders are the Mexican immigrants themselves. A large part of the problem, Hanson believes, comes from the opportunistic coalition that stymies immigration reform and, even worse, stifles an honest discussion of the growing problem. Conservative corporations, contractors, and agribusiness demand cheap wage labor from Mexico, whatever the social consequences. Meanwhile, "progressive" academics, journalists, government bureaucrats, envision illegal aliens as a vast new political constituency for those committed to the notion that victimhood, not citizenship, is the key to advancement.

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Kurt M. Landgraf,
President & CEO of
Educational Testing Service

"At ETS, we are working to build a 'new basic literacy' strategy for the 21st century."

The Fourth Basic Literacy—Technology

Imagine a physician from the early 20th century in a modern, 21st century hospital. That doctor would be totally unfamiliar with the tools, equipment and methods involved in healing today. But, a teacher from that era would likely feel at home in many of today's classrooms. While technology has transformed the way we live and work, unfortunately it remains on the fringe of classroom life.

It's time to transform the way we use technology in our schools.

At ETS, we are working to build a "new basic literacy" strategy for the 21st century. We have created a global partnership among leading business, education, and public policy leaders to promote universal Information & Communication Technologies (ICT) Literacy. The partnership has produced a framework on how to teach and measure technological skills.

Teaching children today about technology is as fundamental as teaching reading, writing and arithmetic.

Connected to the Future, a new study from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, underwritten by ETS, Bell South, and Kodak, shows that more and more students are being exposed to the latest electronic innovations. Almost all of our schools are wired for the Internet, and access to technology is widely available. Yet all too often school computers sit idle. The study, conducted by Grunwald Associates, reveals that our schools are in danger of falling behind as a center for electronic education. This is especially true for schools serving low-income and minority populations. And it is kids in lower income communities who must rely most heavily upon schools for access to technology—to the tools they need to participate, compete and succeed in this digital age. Consider the following:

- 49 percent of Caucasian children use the Internet at home, compared to only 29 percent of African-American children, and 33 percent of Hispanic children
- Children from high-income families are more than twice as likely to have home Internet access (66%) than children from low-income households (29%).
- Despite strong growth in school access from 2000 to 2002 for low-income children (20 to 32 percent), their current school use still significantly lags behind high-income children (47 percent).

Between 2000 and 2002, the number of high-income families with high-speed Internet access almost quadrupled. The study shows school age children in these families watch less TV, spend more time online and get better grades. So we have an emerging gap between "connected" and "well-connected" kids. On one side we have kids with high-speed Internet access at home and plenty of computers in classrooms, and on the other, kids who must share a handful of computers in the school lab.

Placing computers in classrooms is essential, but it is just the first step. Technology must become an integral part of teaching and learning in all our schools. We have no choice but to transform today's classrooms in order to build vital technological skills and knowledge for tomorrow's workforce.

We invite you to continue this dialogue by sharing your thoughts and questions at www.ets.org or by mail.

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